The figure that you have seen put
Was for H. Houston Forman cut
Amid his household goods to bide
And relics culled from far and wide
This book is his on whom you look
For Scott his graving tackle took

And asked the man to watch therein
That none by guile the book might win
Then sixty feet of great and small
The world holds books enough for all
Of roughly handling this beware
And put it in its place with care

The initials on the title are identical with those in my copy of Florio's Worlde of Wordes, which seems to have belonged to Smith Fleetwood (1661)

THE REHEARSAL TRANSPROS'D; OR, Animadversions Upon a late BOOK, INTITULED, *A* PREFACE, *shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery.*

The second Impression, with Additions and Amendments.

By Andrew Marvel. Esqr.

LONDON, Printed by *J. D.* for the Assigns of *John Calvin* and *Theodore Beza* at the sign of the *King's Indulgence* on the South-side of the *Lake Lemane*, and Sould by *N. Ponder* in *Chancery Lane*, 1672.

An Advertiſement from the Bookſeller.

THis Book having wrought it ſelf thorow many difficulties, it hath newly incountred with that of a Counterfeit Impreſſion in 12° *under the Title and pretence of* the 2d Edition Corrected. *Whereas in truth that Impreſſion is ſo far from having been Corrected, that it doth groſly and frequently corrupt both the Sence and Words of the Coppy.*

N. P.

Animadversions upon the Preface to Bishop Bramhall's *Vindication, &c.*

THE Author of this Preface had first writ a *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Policy*; after that, *A Defence and Continuation of the Ecclesiastical Policy*; and there he concludes his Epistle to the Reader in these words: *But if this be the Penance I must undergo for the wantonness of my Pen, to answer the impertinent and slender Exceptions of every peevish and disingenuous Caviller; Reader, I am reformed from my incontinency of Stribling, and do here heartily bid thee an Eternal Farewel.* Now this Expression lyes open to his own *Dilemma* against the Nonconformists confessing in their prayers to God such heinous Enormities. For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modesty

is all impudent and counterfeit: or, if he will acknowledg it, why then he had been before, and did ſtill remain upon Record, the ſame wanton and incontinent Scribler.

But however, I hop'd he had been a Clergy-man of Honour, and that when herein the World and he himſelf were now ſo fully agreed in the cenſure of his Writings, he would have kept his word; or at leaſt that his Pen would not ſo ſoon have created us a diſturbance of the ſame nature, and ſo far manifeſted how indifferent he is as to the buſineſs either of Truth or Eternity. But the Author, alas, inſtead of his own, was fallen now into *Amaryllus*'s Dilemma: (I perceive the Gentleman hath travelled by his remembring *Chi lava la teſta al aſino perde il ſapone*, and therefore hope I may without Pedantry quote the words in her own *whining* Italian,)

S'il peccar è ſi dolce e'l non peccar ſi neceſſario,
O troppo imperfetta Natura che ripugni a la Legge.

O troppo dura Legge che Natura offendi!

If to ſcribble be ſo ſweet, and not to ſcribble be ſo neceſſary;
O too frail Inclination, that contradicteſt Obligation:
O too ſevere Obligation, that offendeſt Inclination.

For all his Promiſe to write no more, I durſt alwaies have laid Ten pound to a Crown on Natures ſide. And accordingly he hath now bleſſed us with, as he calls it, *A Preface, ſhewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealouſies of Popery.*

It will not be unpleaſant to hear him begin his Story. *The enſuing Treatiſe of Biſhop* Bramhall's *being ſomewhat ſuperannuated, the* Bookſellet *was very ſollicitous to have it ſet off with ſome Preface that might recommend it to the Genius of the Age, and reconcile it to the preſent Juncture of Affairs.* A pretty task indeed: That is as much as to ſay, To trick up the good old Biſhop in a yellow Coif and a Bulls-head, that he

may be fit for the Publick, and appear in Fashion. In the mean time 'tis what I alwayes presaged: From a Writer of Books, our Author is already dwinled to a Preface-monger, and from Prefaces I am confident he may in a short time be improved to endite Tickets for the Bear-garden. But the Bookseller I see was a cunning Fellow, and knew his Man. For who so proper as a young Priest to sacrifice to the Genius of the Age; yea, though his Conscience were the Offering? And none more ready to nick a juncture of Affairs than a malapert Chaplain; though not one indeed of a hundred but dislocates them in the handling. And yet our Author is very maidenly, and condescends to his Bookseller not without some reluctance, as being, forsooth, first of all *none of the most zealous Patrons of the Press*.

Though he hath so lately forfeited his Credit, yet herein I dare believe him: For the Press hath ought him a shame a long time, and is but now beginning to pay off the Debt. The Press (that

(that *villanous* Engine) invented much about the ſame time with the Reformation, that hath done more miſchief to the Diſcipline of our Church, than all the Doctrine can make amends for. 'Twas an happy time when all Learning was in Manuſcript, and ſome little Officer, like our Author, did keep the Keys of the Library. When the Clergy needed no more knowledg than to read the Liturgy, and the Laiety no more Clerkſhip than to ſave them from Hanging. But now, ſince Printing came into the World, ſuch is the miſchief, that a Man cannot write a Book but preſently he is anſwered. Could the Preſs but once be conjured to obey only an *Imprimatur*, our Author might not diſdain *perhaps* to be one of its moſt zealous Patrons. There have been wayes found out to baniſh Miniſters, to fine not only the People, but even the Grounds and Fields where they aſſembled in Conventicles: But no Art yet could prevent theſe ſeditious meetings of Letters. Two or three brawny Fellows in a Corner, with meer Ink and

Elbow-greaſe, do more harm than an *hundred Syſtematical Divines* with their *ſweaty Preaching*. And, which is a ſtrange thing, the very Spunges, which one would think ſhould rather deface and blot out the whole Book, and were antiently uſed to that purpoſe, are become now the Inſtruments to make things legible. Their ugly Printing-Letters, that look but like ſo many rotten-Teeth, How oft have they been pull'd out by B. and L. the Publick-Tooth-drawers! and yet theſe raſcally Operators of the Preſs have got a trick to faſten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a Set, and as biting and talkative as ever. O *Printing!* how haſt thou diſturb'd the Peace of Mankind! that Lead, when moulded into Bullets, is not ſo mortal as when founded into Letters! There was a miſtake ſure in the Story of *Cadmus*; and the Serpents Teeth which he ſowed, were nothing elſe but the Letters which he invented. The firſt Eſſay that was made towards this Art, was in ſingle Characters upon Iron, where-

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with of old they ſtigmatized Slaves and remarkable Offenders; and it was of good uſe ſometimes to brand a Schiſmatick. But a *bulky* Dutchman diverted it quite from its firſt Inſtitution, and contriving thoſe innumerable *Syntagmes* of Alphabets, hath peſtred the World ever ſince with the *groß Bodies of their German Divinity*. One would have thought in Reaſon that a Dutchman at leaſt might have contented himſelf only with the Wine-preſs.

But, next of all, our Author, beſide his averſion from the Preſs, alledges, that *he is as much concerned as* De-wit, *or any of the High and Mighty Burgomaſters, in matters of a Cloſer and more Comfortable Importance to himſelf and his own Affairs*. And yet who ever ſhall take the pains to read over his Preface, will find that it intermeddles with the King, the Succeſſion, the Privy-Council, Popery, Atheiſm, Biſhops, Eccleſiaſtical Government, and above all with Nonconformity, and *J. O.* A man would wonder what this thing ſhould be of a *Cloſer Importance*; But being *more comfor-*

John Owen

table too, I conclude it must be one of these three things; either his Salvation, or a Benefice, or a Female. Now as to Salvation he could not be so much concern'd: for that care was over; there hath been a course taken to insure all that are on his bottom. And he is yet surer of a Benefice; or else his Patrons must be very ungrateful. He cannot have deserved less than a Prebend for his first Book, a *Sine-cure* for his second, and for his third a Rectorship, although it were that of *Malmsbury*. Why, then of necessity it must be a Female. For, that I confess might have been a sufficient excuse from writing of Prefaces, and against the importunity of the Book-seller. 'Twas fit that all business should have given place to the work of Propagation. Nor was there any thing that could more closely import him, than that the Race and Family of the Railers should be perpetuated among Mankind. Who could in reason expect that a man should in the same moments undertake the labour of an Author and a Father? *Nevertheless*,

verthelesſi, he ſaith, he could not but yield ſo far as to improve every fragment of time that he could get into his own diſpoſal, to gratify the Importunity of the Bookſeller. Was ever Civility graduated up and inhanc'd to ſuch a value! His Miſtris her ſelf could not have endeared a Favour ſo nicely, nor granted it with more ſweetneſs.

Was the Bookſeller more Importunate, or the Author more Courteous?

The Author was the Pink of Courteſie, the Bookſeller the Bur of Importunity.

And ſo, not being able to ſhake him off, *this*, he ſaith, *hath brought forth this Preface, ſuch an one as it is; for how it will prove, he himſelf neither is, nor (till 'tis too late) ever ſhall be a competent Judge, in that it muſt be raviſh'd out of his hands before his thoughts can poſſibly be cool enough to revive or correct the Indecencies either of its ſtile or contrivance.* He is now growing a very Enthuſiaſt himſelf. No Nonconformiſt-Miniſter, as it ſeems, could have ſpoke more *extempore*. I ſee he is not ſo civil to his Readers as he was to his Bookſeller:

and

and ſo *A. C.* and *James Collins* be gratified, he cares not how much the reſt of the World be diſobliged. Some Man that had leſs right to be faſtidious and confident, would, before he expoſed himſelf in publick, both have cool'd his Thoughts, and corrected his Indecencies: or would have conſidered whether it were neceſſary or wholeſom that he ſhould write at all. Foraſmuch as one of the Antient *Sophiſts* (they were a kind of Orators of his Form) kill'd himſelf with declaming while he had a Bone in his Throat, and *J. O.* was ſtill in being. *Put up your Trumpery good noble Marqueſs.* But there was no holding him. Thus it muſt be and no better, when a man's Phancy is up, and his Breeches are down; when the Mind and the Body make contrary Aſſignations, and he hath both a Bookſeller at once and a Miſtris to ſatisfie: Like *Archimedes*, into the Street he runs out naked with his Invention. And truly, if at any time, we might now pardon this Extravagance and Rapture of our Author; when he was pearch'd upon

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the higheſt Pinacle of Eccleſiaſtical Felicity, being ready at once to aſſwage his Concupiſcence, and wreck his Malice.

But yet he knows not which way his Mind will work it ſelf and its thoughts. This is *Bayes* the Second. — *'Tis no matter for the Plot — The Intrigo was out of his head — But you'l apprehend it better when you ſee't.* Or rather, he is like *Bayes* his Actors, *that could not gueſs what humour they were to be in: whether angry, melancholly, merry, or in Love.* Nay, inſomuch that he ſaith, *he is neither Prophet nor Aſtrologer enough to foretell.* Never Man certainly was ſo unacquainted with himſelf. And, indeed, 'tis part of his diſcretion to avoid his acquaintance, and tell him as little of his mind as may be: for he is a dangerous fellow. But I muſt ask his pardon if I treat him too homely. It is his own fault that miſled me at firſt, by concealing his quality under ſuch vulgar compariſons as *De-wit* and the *Burgomaſters*. I now ſee it all along; This can be no leſs a man than Prince

Volſcites

Volscius himself, in dispute betwixt his Boots which way his mind will *work it self*; whether Love shall detain him with his *Closer Importance*, Parthenope, *whose Mother, Sir, sells Ale by the Town-wall*: or Honour shall carry him *to head the Army that lies concealed for him at Knightsbridge*, and to encounter *J. O.*

Go on cryes Honour; tender Love saith Nay.
Honour aloud commands, Pluck both Boots on.
But safer Love doth whisper, Put on none,

And so now when it comes that he is *not Prophet nor Astrologer enough to foretell* what he will do, 'tis just,

For as bright Day, with black approach of Night,
Contending, makes a doubtful puzzling Light;
So does my Honour and my Love together,
Puzzle me so, I am resolv'd on neither.

Yet

Yet no Aſtrologer could poſſibly have more advantage and opportunity to make a Judgment. For he knew the very minute of the Conception of his Preface, which was immediately upon His Majeſties iſſuing his Declaration of Indulgence to Tender Conſciences. Nor could he be ignorant of the moment when it was brought forth. And I can ſo far refreſh his memory, that it came out in the Dog-dayes,

—the Seaſon hot, and She too near:
O mighty Love! J. O. *will be undone.*

According to the Rule in *Davenant's Ephemerides*; *But the heads which at this moment, and under the preſent Schemes and Aſpects of the Heavens he intends to treat of* (pure Sidrophel) *are theſe two: Firſt, Something of the Treatiſe it ſelf. Secondly, of the ſeaſonableneſs of its publication: and this, unleſs his Humour jade him* ('tis come to a Dog-trot already) *will lead him further into the Argument as it relates to the preſent ſtate of things, and from thence 'tis odds but he ſhall take occaſion to beſtow ſome Animadverſions upon one J. O.* There's no truſting him.

He doubtleſs knew from the beginning what he intended. And ſo too all his ſtory of the Bookſeller, and all the *Vole Nola's*, and *ſhall-I's*, *ſhall-I's* betwixt them, was nothing but fooling: And he now all along owns himſelf to be the Publiſher, and alledges the ſlighter and the main reaſons that induced him. Would he had told us ſo at firſt; for then he had ſaved me thus much of my labour. Though, as it chances, it lights not amiſs on our Author, whoſe delicate ſtomach could not brook that *J. O.* ſhould ſay, *he had prevailed with himſelf, much againſt his inclination, to beſtow a few (and thoſe idle) hours upon examining his Book:* and yet he himſelf ſtumbles ſo notoriouſly upon the very ſame fault at his own threſhold.

But now from this Preamble he falls into his Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall:* though indeed like *Bayes* his Prologue, that would have ſerv'd as well for an Epilogue, I do not ſee but the Preface might have paſt as well for a Poſtſcript, or the Headſtall for a Crooper. And our Authors *Divinity* might have gone

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to *Push-Pin* with the Bishop, which of their two Treatises was the *Procatarctical Cause* of both their Edition. For, as they are coupled together, to say the truth, 'tis not discernable, as in some Animals, whether their motion begin at the head or the tail; whether the Author made his Preface for Bishop *Bramhall's dear sake*, or whether he published the Bishop's Treatise for sake of his *own dear Preface*. For my own part I think it reasonable that the Bishop and our Author, should (like fair Gamsters at Leap-frog) stand and skip in their turns; and however our Author got it for once, yet, if the Bookseller should ever be sollicitous for a Second Edition, that then the Bishops Book should have the Precedence.

But before I commit my self to the dangerous depths of his Discourse, which I am now upon the brink of, I would with his leave make a motion; that, instead of Author, I may henceforth indifferently call him Mr. *Bayes* as oft as I shall see occasion. And that, first, because he hath no Name, or

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at leaſt will not own it, though he himſelf writes under the greateſt ſecurity, and gives us the firſt Letters of other Mens Names before he be asked them. Secondly, becauſe he is I perceive a lover of Elegancy of Stile; and can endure no mans Tautologies but his own, and therefore I would not diſtaſte him with too frequent repetition of one word. But chiefly, becauſe Mr. *Bayes* and he do very much Symbolize; in their underſtandings, in their expreſſions, in their humour, in ther contempt and quarrelling of all others, though of their own Profeſſion. Becauſe our Divine the Author, manages his conteſt with the ſame Prudence and civility, which the Players and Poets have practiſed of late in their ſeveral Diviſions. And, laſtly, becauſe both their Talents do peculiarly lie in expoſing and perſonating the Nonconformiſts. I would therefore give our Author a Name, the memory of which may perpetually excite him to the exerciſe and higheſt improvement of that Virtue. For, our *Cicero* doth not

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yet equal our *Roſcius*, and one turn of *Lacy's face* hath more *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* in it, than all the Books of our Author put together. Beſides, to ſay Mr. *Bayes* is more *civil* than to ſay *Villain* and *Caitiff*, though theſe indeed are more *tuant*. And, to conclude; The Irrafragable Doctor of School-Divinity, pag. 460 of his *Defence*; determining concerning Symbolical Ceremonies, hath warranted me *that not only Governors, but any thing elſe, may have power to appropriate new names to things, without having abſolute authority over the things themſelves.* And therefore henceforward, ſeeing I am on ſuch ſure ground, *Author*, or Mr. *Bayes*, whether I pleaſe. Now, having *had our Dance, let us advance to our more ſerious Counſels.*

And firſt, Our Author begins with a Panegyrick upon Biſhop *Bramhal*; a Perſon whom my age had not given me leave to be acquainted with, nor my good fortune led me to converſe with his Writings: but for whom I had collected a deep Reverence from the gene-

ral Reputation he carried, beſide the Veneration due to the Place he filled in the Church of *England*. So that our Author having a mind to ſhew us ſome proof of his Good Nature, and that his Eloquence lay'd not all in Satyr and Invectives, could not, in my opinion, have fixed upon a fitter ſubject of commendation. And therefore, I could have wiſhed for my own ſake, that I had miſſed this occaſion of being more fully informed of ſome of the Biſhop's Principles, whereby I have loſt part of that pleaſure which I had ſo long enjoyed in thinking well of ſo conſiderable a Perſon. But however, I recreate my ſelf with believing that my ſimple judgment cannot, beyond my intention, abate any thing of his juſt value with others. And ſeeing he is long ſince dead, which I knew but lately, and now learn it with regret, I am the more obliged to repair in my ſelf whatſoever breaches of his Credit, by that additional Civility which conſecrates the Aſhes of the Deceaſed. But by this means I am come to diſcern how

how it was possible for our Author to speak a good word of any man. The Bishop was expired, and his Writings jump much with our Author. So that if you have a mind to die, or to be of his Party, (there are but these two Conditions) you may perhaps be rendred capable of his Charity. And then write what you will, he will make you a *Preface that shall recommend you and it to the* Genius *of the Age, and reconcile it to the Juncture of Affairs.* But truly he hath acquitted himself herein so ill-favourdly to the Bishop, that I do not think it so much worth to gain his approbation; and I had rather live and enjoy mine owne opinion than be so treated. For, beside his reflexion on the Bishop, and the whole Age he lived in; that *he was, as far as the prejudice of the Age would permit him, an acute Philosopher* (which is a sufficient taste of Mr. *Bayes* his Arrogance, that no man, no Age can be so perfect but must abide his Censure, and of the officious virulence of his Humour which infuses it self, by a malignant

remark, that (but for this acuter Philosopher) no man else would have thought of, into the Praises of him whom he most intended to celebrate) if, I say, beside this, you consider the most elaborate and studious Periods of his Commendation, you find it at best very ridiculous. By the Language he seems to transcribe out of the *Grand-Cyrus* and *Cassandra*, but the Exploits to have borrowed out of the *Knight of the Sun*, and *King Arthur*. For in a lascious and effeminate Stile he gives him such a *Termagant* Character, as must either fright or turn the stomach of any Reader: *Being of a brave and enterprising temper, of an active and sprightly mind, he was alwayes busied either it contriving or performing great Designs.* Well, *Mr. Bayes*, I suppose by this that he might have been an over-match to the Bishop of *Cullen* and the Bishop of *Strasburg*. In another place, *He finished all the glorious Designs that he undertook.* This might have become the Bishop of *Munster* before he had raised the Siege from *Groningen*. *As he was able*

able to accompliſh the moſt gallant attempts, ſo he was alwayes ready not only to juſtifie their Innocence, but to make good their Bravery. I was too prodigal of my Biſhops at firſt, and now have never another left in the Gazette, which is our Authors Magazin. *His Reputation and Innocence were both Armor of Proof againſt Toryes and Presbyterians.* But me-thinks Mr, *Bayes* having to do with ſuch dangerous Enemies, you ſhould have furniſhed him too with ſome weapon of Offence, a good old Fox, like that of another Heroe, his Contemporary in *Action upon the Scene of Ireland*, of whom it was ſung,

Down by his ſide he wore a Sword of price,
Keen as a Froſt, glaz'd like a new made Ice:
That cracks men ſhell'd in Steel in a leſs trice,
Than Squirrels Nuts, or the Highlanders Lice.

Then he ſaith; *'Tis true, the Church of*

Ireland *was the largeſt Scene of his Actions; but yet there, in a little time, he wrought out ſuch wonderous Alterations, and ſo exceeding all belief, as may convince us that he had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its greateſt extent.* This indeed of our Author's is *Great*: and yet it reacheth not a ſtrain of his fellow-*Pendets* in the Hiſtory of the *Mogol*, where he tells *Dancehment Kan, That when he put his foot in the Stirrop, and when he march'd upon Horſeback in the front of the Cavalry, the Earth trembled under his feet, the eight Elephants that hold it on their heads not being able to ſupport it.* But enough of this Traſh.

Beſide that it is the higheſt *Indecorum* for a Divine to write in ſuch a ſtile as this [part Play-book and part Romance] concerning a Reverend Biſhop; theſe improbable *Elogies* too are of the greateſt diſſervice to their own deſign, and do in effect diminiſh alwayes the Perſon whom they pretend to magnifie. Any worthy Man may paſs through the World unqueſtion'd

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and ſafe with a moderate Recommendation; but when he is thus ſet off, and bedawb'd with Rhetorick, and embroyder'd ſo thick that you cannot diſcern the Ground, it awakens naturally (and not altogether unjuſtly) Intereſt, Curioſity, and Envy. For all men pretend a ſhare in Reputation, and love not to ſee it ingroſſ'd and monopoliz'd, and are ſubject to enquire, (as of great Eſtates ſuddenly got) whether he came by all this honeſtly, or of what credit the Perſon is that tells the Story? And the ſame hath happened as to this Biſhop, while our Author attributes to him ſuch Atchievements, which to one that could believe the Legend of Captain *Jones*, might not be incredible. I have heard that there was indeed ſuch a Captain, an honeſt brave fellow: but a Wag that had a mind to be merry with him, hath quite ſpoil'd his Hiſtory. Had our Author epitomiz'd the Legend of ſixty ſix Books *de Virtutibus Sancti Patricii* (I mean not the Ingenious Writer of the *Friendly Debates*, but St. *Patrick* the Iriſh Biſhop) he

could not have promis'd us greater Miracles. And 'tis well for him that he hath escaped the fate of *Secundinus*, who (as *Jocelin* relates it) acquainting *Patrick* that he was inspired to compose something in his Commendation, the Bishop foretold the Author should die as soon as 'twas perfected. Which so done, so happened. I am sure our Author had died no other death but of this his own *Preface*, and a surfeit upon Bishop *Bramhall*, if the swelling of Truth could have choak'd him. He tells us, I remember somewhere, that this same Bishop of *Derry* said, the *Scots* had a civil expression for these *Improvers of verity*, that they had *good Company*; and I shall say nothing severer, than that our Author speaks the language of a Lover, and so may claim some pardon, if the habit and excess of his Courtship do as yet give a tincture to his discourse upon more ordinary Subjects. For I would not by any means be mistaken, as if I thought our Author so sharp set, or so necessitated that he should make a dead Bishop his Mistress;

Miſtreſs; ſo far from that, that he hath taken ſuch a courſe, that if the Biſhop were alive, he would be out of love with himſelf. He hath, like thoſe frightfull Looking-glaſſes, made for ſport, repreſented him in ſuch bloated lineaments, as I am confident, if he could ſee his face in it, he would break the Glaſs. For, hence it falls out too, that men ſeeing the Biſhop furbiſh'd up in ſo martial accoutrements, like another *Odo* Biſhop of *Baieux*, and having never before heard of his proweſs, begin to reflect what *Giants* he defeated, and what *Damſells* he reſcued. Serious Men conſider whether he were ingaged in the conduct of the *Iriſh* Army, and to have brought it over upon *England*, for the Imputation of which the Earl of *Strafford* his Patron ſo undeſervedly ſuffered. But none knows any thing of it. Others think it is not to be taken literally, but the wonderfull and unheard-of Alterations that he wrought out in *Ireland*, are meant of ſome Reformation that he made there in things of his own Function. But

then

then men aſk again, how he comes to have all the honour of it, and whether all the while that great Biſhop *Uſher*, his Metropolitan, were unconcerned? For even in Eccleſiaſticall Combates how inſtrumental ſoever the Captain hath been, the General uſually carries away the honour of the Action. But the good *Primate* was engaged in Deſigns of leſſer moment, and was writing his *de Primordiis Eccleſiæ Britanicæ*, and the Story of *Pelagius* our Conntryman. He Honeſt man, was deep gone in *Grubſtreet* and *Polemical Divinity*, and troubled with fits of *Modern Orthodoxy*. He ſatisfied himſelf with being *admired by the blue and white Aprons*, and *pointed at by the more judicious Tankard-bearers*. Nay, which is worſt of all, he undertook to abate of our Epiſcopall *Grandeur*, and condeſcended indeed to reduce the Ceremonious Diſcipline in theſe Nations to the Primitive Simplicity. What then was this that Biſhop *Bramhal* did? Did he, like a Proteſtant Apoſtle, in one day convert thouſands of the *Iriſh* Papiſts? The contrary is evident

evident by the Iriſh Rebellion and Maſſacre, which, notwithſtanding his *Publick Employment and great Abilities*, happened in his time. So that after all our Authors bombaſt, when we have ſearch'd all over, we find our ſelves bilk'd in our expectation: and he hath erected him, like a *St. Chriſtopher* in the Popiſh Churches, as big as ten Porters, and yet only imploy'd to ſweat under the burden of an *Infant*.

All that appears of him is, firſt, that he buſied himſelf about *a Catholick Agreement among the Churches of Chriſtendom*. But as to this, our Author himſelf ſaith, that he was not *ſo vain, or ſo preſuming as to hope to ſee it effected in his dayes*. And yet but two pages before he told us, that *the Biſhop finiſh'd all the glorious Deſigns which he undertook*. But this Deſign of his he draws out in ſuch a circuit of words, that 'tis better taking it from the Biſhop himſelf, who ſpeaks more plainly alwayes, and much more to the purpoſe. And he ſaith, pag. 87 of his Vindication, *My deſign is rather to reconcile the* Popiſh Party *to the*

the Church of England, *than the Church of* England *to the* Pope. And how he manages it, I had rather any man would learn by reading over his own Book, than that I ſhould be thought to miſrepreſent him, which I might, unleſs I tranſcribed the whole. But in ſumme it ſeems to me that he is upon his own ſingle judgment too liberal of the Publick, and that he retrenches both on our part more than he hath Authority for, and grants more to the Popiſh than they can of right pretend to. It is however indeed a moſt glorious Deſign, to reconcile all the Churches to one Doctrine and Communion (though ſome that meddle in it do it chiefly in order to fetter men ſtraiter under the formal bondage of fictitious Diſcipline); but it is a thing rather to be wiſhed and prayed for, than to be expected from theſe kind of endeavours. It is ſo large a Field, that no man can ſee to the end of it; and all that have adventured to travel it, have been bewildred. That Man muſt have a vaſt opinion of his own ſufficiency, that can think he may

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by his Oratory or Reaſon, either in his own time, or at any of our Author's *more happy Junctures of Affairs*, ſo far perſwade and faſcinate the *Roman* Church, having by a regular contexture of continued Policy for ſo many Ages interwoven it ſelf with the Secular Intereſt, and made it ſelf neceſſary to moſt Princes, and having at laſt erected a Throne of Infallibility over the Conſcience, as to prevail with her to ſubmit a Power and Empire ſo acquired and eſtabliſhed in Compromiſe to the Arbitration of an humble Propoſer. God only in his own time, and by the inſcrutable methods of his Providence is able to effect that *Alteration*: though I think too he hath ſignified in part by what means he intends to accompliſh it, and to range ſo conſiderable a Church, and once ſo exemplary, into Primitive Unity and Chriſtian Order. In the mean time ſuch Projects are fit for Pregnant Scholars that have nothing elſe to do, to go big with for forty years, and may qualifie them to diſcourſe with Princes and

States,

States-men at their hours of leisure; but I never saw that they came to Use or Possibility: No more than that of *Alexanders* Architect, who proposed to make him a Statue of the Mountain *Athos* (and that was no Molehill); and among other things, that Statue to carry in its hand a great habitable City. But the Surveyor was gravell'd, being asked whence that City should be supplied with Water. I would only have ask'd the Bishop, when he had cary'd and hammer'd the Romists and Protestants into one *Colossian*-Church, how we should have done as to matter of Bibles. For the Bishop, p. 117. complains that *unqualified people should have a promiscuous Licence to read the Scriptures*: and you may guess thence, if he had moreover the Pope to friend, how the Laity should have been used. There have been attempts in former Ages to dig through the Separating *Istmos* of *Peloponnesus*; and another to make communication between the *Red-Sea* and the *Mediterranean*: both more easie than to cut this *Ecclesiastick Canal*; and yet both

both laid by, partly upon the difficulty of doing it, and partly upon the inconveniences if it had been effected. I muſt confeſs freely, yet I ask pardon for the preſumption, that I cannot look upon theſe undertaking Church-men, however otherwiſe of excellent Prudence and Learning, but as men ſtruck with a Notion, and craz'd on that ſide of their head. And ſo I think even the Biſhop had much better have buſied himſelf in Preaching in his own Dioceſs, and diſarming the Papiſts of their Arguments, inſtead of rebating our weapons; than in taking an *Oecumenical* care upon him, which none called him to, and, as appears by the ſequel, none conn'd him thanks for.

But if he were ſo great a Politician as I have heard, and indeed believe him to have been, methinks he ſhould in the firſt place have contrived how we might live well with our Proteſtant Neighbours, and to have united us in one Body under the King of *England*, as Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, which might have

have rendred us more considerable, and put us into a more likely posture to have reduced the Church of *Rome* to Reason. For the most leading Party of the *English* Clergy in his time retained such a Pontifical stiffness towards the Foreign Divines, that it puts me in mind of *Austin* the Monk when he came into *Kent*, not deigning to rise up to the *British*, or give them the hand, and could scarce afford their Churches either Communion or Charity, or common Civility. So that it is not to be wondred if they also on their parts looked upon our Models of Accommodation with the same jealousie that the *British* Christians had of *Austin's* Design, to unite them first to (that is under) the *Saxons*, and then deliver them both over bound to the Papal Government and Ceremonies. But seeing hereby our hands were weakned, and there was no probability of arriving so near the end of the work, as to a consent among Protestants abroad; had the Bishop but gone that step, to have reconciled the Ecclesiastical Differences in

our

our own Nations, and that we might have ſtood firm at home before we had taken ſuch a Jump beyond Sea, it would have been a Performance worthy of his Wiſdom. For at that time the Eccleſiaſtical Rigours here were in the higheſt ferment, and the Church in being arrayed it ſelf againſt the peaceable Diſſenters only in ſome points of Worſhip. And what great Undertaking could we be ripe for abroad, while ſo divided at home? or what fruit expected from the labour of thoſe Mediating Divines in weighty matters, who were not yet paſt the Sucking-bottle; but ſeem'd to place all the buſineſs of Chriſtianity in perſecuting men for their Conſciences, differing from them in ſmaller matters? How ridiculous muſt we be to the Church of *Rome* to interpoſe in her Affairs, and force our Mediation upon her; when, beſides our ill correſpondence with the Foreign Proteſtants, ſhe muſt obſerve our weakneſs within our ſelves, that we could not, or would not ſtep over a ſtraw, though for the perpetual ſettle-

ment and security of our Church and Nation? She might well look upon us as those that probably might be forced at some time by our folly to call her in to our assistance (for with no weapons or Arguments but what are fetch'd out of her Arsenals can the Ceremonial-Controversie be rightly defended) but never could she consider us as of such Authority or wisdom, as to give Ballance to her Counsels

But this was far from Bp. *Bramhall's* thoughts; who so he might (like *Cæsar*) *manage the Roman Empire at its utmost extent*, had quite forgot what would conduce to the Peace of his own Province and Country. For p. 57. he settles this Maxime as a Truth, *That second Reformations are commonly like Metal upon Metal, which is false Heraldry*. Where, by the way, it is a wonder that our Author in enumerating the Bps perfections in Divinity, Law, History, and Philosophy, neglected this peculiar gift he had in Heraldry; and omitted to tell us that his Mind was large enough to have animated the Kingdoms of *Garter* and *Clarencieux*,

rencieux at their greateſt dimenſions. But, beſide what I have ſaid already in relation to this Project upon *Rome*, there is this more, which I confeſs was below Biſhop *Bramhall*'s reflexion, and was indeed fit only for ſome vulgar Politician, or the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* about the late Union: Whether it would not have ſucceeded, as in the conſolidation of Kingdoms, where the Greateſt ſwallows down the leſs; ſo alſo in Church-Coalition, that though the Pope had condeſcended (which the Biſhop owns to be his Right) to be only a Patriarch, yet he would have ſwoop'd up the Patriarchate of *Lambeth* to his Mornings-draught, like an egg in Muſcadine. And then there is another Danger always when things come once to a Treaty, that, beſide the debates of Reaſon, there is a better way of tampering to bring Men over that have a Power to conclude. And ſo who knows in ſuch a Treaty with *Rome*, if the *Alps* (as it is probable) would not have come over to *England*, as the Biſhop deſigned it, *England* might not have been ob-

liged, lying so commodious for Navigation, to undertake a Voyage to *Civita Vecchia*? But what though we should have made all the Advances imaginable, it would have been to no purpose: and nothing less than an intire and total resignation of the Protestant Cause would have contented her. For the Church of *Rome* is so well satisfied of her own sufficiency, and hath so much more wit than we had in Bishop *Bramhall's* days, or seem to have yet learned; that it would have succeeded just as at the Council of *Trent*. For there, though many Divines of the greatest Sincerity and Learning, endeavoured a Reformation, yet no more could be obtained of Her than the Nonconformists got of those of the Church of *England* at the Conference of *Worcester House*. But on the contrary, all her Excesses and Errors were further rivited and confirmed, and that great Machine of her Ecclesiastical Policy there perfected.

So that this Enterprise of Bishop *Bramhalls*, being so ill laid and so unseasonable, deserves rather an Excuse than

than a Commendation. And all that can be gathered beſides out of our Author concerning him is of little better value; for he ſaith indeed, that *he was a zealous and reſolute Aſſertor of the Publick Rites and Solemnities of the Church.* But thoſe things, being only matters of external neatneſs, could never merit the Trophies that our Author erects him. For neither can a Juſtice of Peace for his ſeverity about Dirt-baskets deſerve a Statue. And as for *his expunging ſome dear and darling Articles from the Proteſtant cauſe*, it is, as far as I can perceive, onely his ſubſtituting ſome *Arminian* Tenets, (which I name ſo, not for reproach, but for difference) inſtead of the *Calvinian* Doctrines. But this too could not challenge all theſe Triumphal Ornaments in which he inſtalls him: For, I ſuppoſe theſe were but meer *miſtakes on either ſide, for want of being* (as the Biſhop ſaith pag. 134.) *ſcholaſtically ſtated; and that he, with a diſtinction of School-Theologie, could have ſmoothed over and plained away theſe knots though they had been much harder.*

For the reſt, which he leaves us to ſeek for, and I meet caſually with in the Biſhop's own Book; I find him to have been doubtleſs a very good-natur'd Gentleman. Pag. 160. *He hath much reſpect for poor Readers*; and pag. 161. He judges *that if they come ſhort of Preachers in point of Efficacy, yet they have the advantage of Preachers as to point of Security.* And pag. 163. He commends the care taken by *the Canons that the meaneſt Cure of Souls ſhould have formal Sermons at leaſt four times every year.* Pag. 155. He *maintains the Publick Sports on the Lords day by the Proclamation to that purpoſe, and the Example of the Reformed Churches beyond-Sea*: and *for the Publick Dances of our Youth upon Country-Greens on Sundayes, after the duties of the day, he ſees nothing in them but innocent and agreeable to that under-ſort of people.* And pag. 117. (which I quoted before) he *takes the promiſcuous licence to unqualified perſons to reade the Scriptures, far more prejudicial, nay, more pernitious, than the over-rigorous reſtraint of the Romaniſts.* And indeed,

indeed, all along he complies much for peace-ſake, and judiciouſly ſhews us wherein our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome* is not warrantable. But although I cannot warrant any man who hence took occaſion to traduce him of Popery, the contrary of which is evident, yet neither is it to be wondred, if he did hereby lye under ſome imputation, which he might otherwiſe have avoided. Neither can I be ſo hard-hearted as our Author in the Nonconformiſts caſe of Diſcipline, to think it were better that *he, or a hundred more Divines of his temper ſhould ſuffer, though innocent* in their Reputation, *than that we ſhould come under a poſſibility of loſing our Religion.* For as they (the Biſhop, and I hope moſt of his Party) did not intend it ſo, neither could they have effected it. But he could nor expect to enjoy his Imagination without the annoyances incident to ſuch as dwell in the middle ſtory : the Pots from above, and the Smoak from below. And thoſe Churches which are ſeated nearer upon the Frontire of Popery, did natural-

ly and well if they took Alarm at the March. For, in fact, that incomparable Perſon *Grotius* did yet make a Bridge for the Enemy to come over; or at leaſt laid ſome of our moſt conſiderable Paſſes open to them and unguarded: a crime ſomething like what his Son *De Groot* (here's Gazette again for you) and his Son-in-law *Mombas* have been charged with. And, as to the Biſhop himſelf, his Friend, an Accuſatory Spirit would deſire no better play than he gives in his own Vindication. But that's neither my buſineſs nor humour: and whatſoever may have glanced upon him, was directed only to our Author; for publiſhing that Book, which the Biſhop himſelf had thought fit to conceal, and for his impertinent efflorescence of Rhetorick upon ſo mean Topicks, in ſo choice and copious a Subject as Biſhop *Bramhal*.

Yet though the Biſhop prudently undertook a Deſign, which he hoped not to accompliſh in his own dayes, our Author, however, was ſomething wiſer, and hath made ſure to obtain his end.

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For the Biſhop's Honour was the furtheſt thing from his thoughts, and he hath managed that part ſo, that I have accounted it a work of ſome Piety to vindicate his Memory from ſo ſcurvy a commendation. But the Author's end was only railing. He could never have induc'd himſelf to praiſe one man but in order to rail on another. He never oyls his Hone but that he may whet his Razor; and that not to ſhave, but to cut mens throats. And whoever will take the pains to compare, will find, that as it is his only end; ſo his beſt, nay his only talent is railing. So that he hath, while he pretends ſo much for the good Biſhop, uſed him but for a Stalking-horſe till he might come within ſhot of the Forreign Divines and the Nonconformiſts. The other was only a copy of his countenance: But look to your ſelves, my Maſters; for in ſo venomous a Malice, Courteſie is always fatal. Under colour of ſome mens having taxed the Biſhop, he flyes out into a furious Debauch, and breaks the Windows, if he could, would raze the

the foundations of all the Proteſtant-Churches beyond Sea: but for all men at home of their perſwaſion, if he meet them in the dark he runs them thorow. He uſurps to himſelf the Authority of the Church of *England*, who is ſo well bred, that if he would have allowed her to ſpeak, ſhe would doubtleſs have treated more civilly thoſe over whom ſhe pretends no Juriſdiction: and under the names of *Germany* and *Geneva*, he rallies and rails at the whole Proteſtancy of *Europe*. For you are miſtaken in our Author (but I have worn him thread-bare) if you think he deſigns to enter the Liſts where he hath but one man to combate. Mr *Bayes*, ye know, *prefers that one quality of fighting ſingle with whole Armies, before all the moral Vertues put together*. And yet I aſſure you, he hath ſeveral times obliged moral Vertue ſo highly, that ſhe ows him a good turn whenſoever ſhe can meet him. But it is a brave thing to be the Eccleſiaſtical *Draw-Can-Sir*; He kills whole Nations, he kills Friend and Foe; *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohe-*

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mia, Poland, Savoy, France, the *Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden*, and a great part of the Church of *England*, and all *Scotland* (for these, besides many more, he mocks under the title of *Germany* and *Geneva*) may perhaps rouse our Mastiff, and make up a Danger worthy of his Courage. A man would guess that this Giant had promised his *Comfortable Importance* a Simarre of the beards of all the *Orthodox Theologues* in Christendom.

But I wonder how he comes to be Prolocutor of the Church of *England*! For he talks at that rate as if he were a *Synodical Individuum*; nay, if he had a fifth Council in his belly he could not dictate more dogmatically. There had been indeed, as I have heard, about the dayes of Bishop *Brambal*, a sort of Divines here of that Leaven, who being dead, I cover their names, if not for healths sake, yet for decency, who never could speak of the first Reformers with any patience; who pruned themselves in the peculiar Virulency of their Pens, and so they might say a tart thing concerning the

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Forreign Churches, cared not what obloquy they caſt upon the Hiſtory or the profeſſion of Religion. And thoſe men undertook likewiſe to vent their Wit and their Choler under the ſtile of the Church of *England*; and were indeed ſo far owned by her, that what preferments were in her own diſpoſal ſhe rather conferr'd upon them. And now when they were gone off the Stage, there is riſen up this Spiritual Mr. *Bayes*; who having aſſumed to himſelf an incongruous Plurality of Eccleſiaſtical Offices, one the moſt ſevere, of Penitentiary-Univerſal to the Reformed-Churches; the other moſt ridiculous, of Buffoon-General to the Church of *England*, may be henceforth capable of any other Promotion. And not being content to enjoy his own folly, he has taken two others into Partnerſhip, as fit for his deſign, as thoſe two that clubb'd with *Mahomet* in making the *Alcoran*: who by a perverſe Wit and Repreſentation might traveſteere the Scripture, and render all the carefull and ſerious part of Religion odious

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and contemptible. But, leſt I might be miſtaken as to the Perſons I mention, I will aſſure the Reader that I intend not *Huddibras*: For he is a man of the other Robe, and his excellent Wit hath taken a flight far above theſe Whiflers: that whoever diſlikes the choice of his Subject, cannot but commend his Performance, and calculate if on ſo barren a Theme he were ſo copious, what admirable ſport he would have made with an Eccleſiaſtical Politician. But for a *Daw-Divine* not only to foul his own Neſt in *England*, but to pull in peices the Neſts of thoſe beyond Sea, 'tis that which I think undecent, and of very ill example.

There is not indeed much danger, his Book, his Letter, and his Preface being writ in Engliſh, that they ſhould paſs abroad: but, if they be printed upon incombuſtible Paper, or by reaſon of the many Avocations of our Church they may eſcape a Cenſure, yet 'tis likely they may dye at home the common fate of ſuch Treatiſes amongſt the more judicious Oylmen and Grocers. Unleſs *Mr. Bayes* be

be so far in love with his own Whelp, that, as a Modern Lady, he will be at the charge of translating his Works into *Latin*, transmitting them to the Universities, and dedicating them in the *Vaticane*. But, should they unhappily get vent abroad (as I here some are already sent over for curosity) what scandal, what heart-burning and animosity must it raise against our Church: unless they chance to take it right at first, and limit the Provocation within the Author. And then, what can he expect in return of his Civility, but that the Complement which passed betwixt *Arminius* and *Baudius* should concenter upon him, that he is both *Opprobrium Academiæ*, and *Pestis Ecclesiæ*. For they will see at the first that his Books come not out under Publick Authority, or recommendation: but only as things of Buffoonery do commonly, they carry with them their own *Imprimatur*; (But I hope he hath considered *Mr. L.* in private, and payed his Fees:) Neither will the Gravity therefore of their Judgments take the measures, I hope, either

either of the Education at our Universities, or of the Spirit of our Divines, or of the Prudence, Piety, and Doctrine of the Church of *England*, from such an Interloper. Those Gardens of ours use to bear much better fruit. There may happen sometimes an ill Year, or there may be such a Crab-stock as cannot by all ingrafting be corrected. But generally it proves otherwise. Once perhaps in a hundred years there may arise such a Prodigy in the University (where all Men else learn better Arts and better manners) and from thence may creep into the Church (where the Teachers at least ought to be well instructed in the knowledge and practice of Christianity) so prodigious a Person I say may even there be hatch'd, as shal neither know or care how to behave himself to God or Man; and who having never seen the receptacle of Grace or Conscience at an Anatomical Dissection, may conclude therefore that there is no such matter, or no such obligation among Christians; who shall persecute the Scripture it self, unless it will

will conform to his Interpretation; who ſhall ſtrive to put the World into Blood, and animate Princes to be the Executioners of their own Subjects for well-doing. All this is poſſible; but comes to paſs as rarely and at as long periods in our Climate, as the birth of a falſe Prophet. But unluckily, in this fatal Year of Seventy two, among all the Calamities that Aſtrologers foretel, this alſo hath befaln us. I would not hereby confirm his vanity, as if I alſo believed that any Scheme of Heaven did influence his actions, or that he were ſo conſiderable as that the Comet, under which they ſay we yet labour, had fore-boded the appearance of his Preface. No, no: though he be a creature moſt noxious, yet he is more deſpicable. A Comet is of far higher quality, and hath other kind of imployment. Although we call it an Hairy-Star, it affords no prognoſtick of what breeds there, but the Aſtrologer that would diſcern our Author and his buſineſs, muſt lay by his Teleſcope, and uſe a Microſcope. You may find him

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ſtill in Maſter *Calvin*'s head.

Poor Mr. *Calvin* and Bp. *Bramhall*, what crime did you dye guilty of, that you cannot lye quiet in your graves, but muſt be conjured up on the ſtage as oft as Mr. *Bayes* will ferret you? And which of you two are moſt unfortunate I cannot determine; whether the Biſhop in being alwayes courted, or the Presbyter in being alwayes rail'd at. But in good earneſt I think Mr. *Calvin* hath the better of it. For, though an ill man cannot by praiſing confer honour, nor by reproaching fix an ignominy; and ſo they may ſeem on equal terms; yet there is more in it: for at the ſame time that we may imagine what is ſaid by ſuch an Author to be falſe, we conceive the contrary to be true. What he ſaid of him indeed in this place did not come very well in: for *Calvin* writ nothing againſt Biſhop *Bramhall*, and therefore here it amounts to no more than that his Spirit forſooth had propagated an original *Waſpiſhneſs* and falſe *Orthodoxy* amongſt all his Followers. But if you look in other pages of his Book, and particularly pag. 663. of

his *Defence*, you never ſaw ſuch a Scarcrow as he makes him. *There ſprang up a mighty Bramble on the South ſide the* Lake Lemane, *that (ſuch is the rankneſs of the ſoil) ſpread and flouriſhed with ſuch a ſudden growth, that partly by the induſtry of his Agents abroad, and partly by its own indefatigable pains and pragmaticalneſs, it quite over-ran the whole Reformation.*---- You muſt conceive that Mr. *Bayes* was all this while in an extaſy in *Dedona*'s *Grove*; or elſe here is ſtrange work, worſe than *explicating a Poſt*, or *examining a Pillar*. A *Bramble* that had *Agents abroad*, and it ſelf an *indefatigable Bramble*. But ſtraight our Bramble is transformed to a Man, and he *makes a Chair of Infallibility for himſelf*, out of his own Bramble Timber. Yet all this while we know not his Name. One would ſuſpect it might be a Bp. *Bramble*. But then *he made himſelf both Pope and Emperor too of the greateſt part of the Reformed World*. How near does this come to his Commendation of Biſhop *Bramhall* before? For our Author ſeems copious, but is indeed very poor of Expreſſion:

preſſion: and, as ſmiling and frowning are performed in the face with the ſame muſcles very little altered; ſo the changing of a line or two in Mr. *Bayes* at any time, will make the ſame thing ſerve for a Panegyrick or a Philippick. But what do you think of this Man? Could Miſtris *Mopſa* her ſelf have furniſhed you with a more pleaſant or worſhipful tale? It wants nothing of perfection, but that it doth not begin with *Once upon a time*? which Mr. *Bayes*, according to his Accuracy, if he had thought on't, would never have omitted.

Yet ſome critical People, who will exact Truth in Falſhood, and tax upon an old-wife's fable to the punctuality of Hiſtory, were blaming him t'other day for placing this Bramble on the South-ſide of the *Lake Lemane*. I ſaid, it was well and wiſely done that he choſe a South Sun for the better and more ſudden growth of ſuch a Fruit-tree. Ay, ſaid they, but he means *Calvin* by the Bramble; and the *rank ſoyl on the South-ſide the Lake Lemane* is the City of *Geneva*, ſituate (as he would have it) on the South-

ſide of that Lake. Now it is ſtrange that he having travell'd ſo well, ſhould not have obſerv'd that the Lake lies East and Weſt, and that *Geneva* is built at the Weſt end of it. Piſh, ſaid I, that's no ſuch great matter, and as Mr. *Bayes* hath it upon another occaſion, *Whether it be ſo or no, the fortunes of Cæſar and the Roman Empire are not concerned in't.* One of the Company would not let that paſs, but told us, if we look'd in *Cæſar*'s Commentaries, we ſhould find their fortunes were concerned, for it was the *Helvetian* Paſſage, and many miſtakes might have riſen in the marching of the Army. Why then replyed I again, Whether it be East, Weſt, North or South, there is neither *Vice* nor *Idolatry* in it, and the Eccleſiaſtical Politician may command you to believe it, and you are bound to *acquieſce* in his judgment, whatſoever may be *your private Opinion.* Another, to continue the mirth, anſwered, That yet there might be ſome Religious Conſideration in building a Town East and Weſt, or North and South, and 'twas not a thing

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ſo indifferent as men thought it, but becauſe in the Church of *England*, where the Table is ſet Altar-wiſe, the Miniſter is nevertheleſs obliged to ſtand at the North-ſide (though it be the North-end of the Table) it was fit to place the *Geneva* Presbyter in diametrical oppoſition to him upon the *South-ſide of the Lake*. But this we all took for a cold conceit, and not enough matured. I, that was ſtill upon the doubtful and excuſing part, ſaid, That to give the right ſituation of a Town, it was neceſſary firſt to know in what poſition the Gentlemans head then was when he made his Obſervation, and that might cauſe a great diverſity, as much as this came to. Yes, replyed my next Neighbour; or, perhaps ſome roguing Boy that managed the Puppets, turned the City wrong, and ſo diſoccidented our Geographer. It was grown almoſt as good as a Play among us: and at laſt they all concluded that *Geneva had ſold Mr. Bayes a Bargain*, as the *Moon* ſerv'd the *Earth* in the *Rehearſal*, and in good ſooth had *turn'd her breech on him*.

But this, I doubt not, Mr. *Baye*, will bring himſelf off with Honour: but that which ſticks with me is, that our Author having undertaken to make *Calvin* and *Geneva* ridicule, hath not purſued it to ſo high a point as the Subject would have afforded. Firſt, he might have taken the name of the beaſt *Calvinus*, and of that have given the Anagram, *Lucianus*. Next, I would have turnd him inſide outward, and have made him *Uſinulca*. That was a good Hobgoblin name to have frighted Children with. Then he ſhould have been a *Bramble* ſtill, ay, an *indefatigable Bramble* too: but after that he ſhould have continued (for in ſuch a Book a paſſage in a Play is clear gain, and a great leſs it omitted) and upon that Bramble *Reaſons grew as plentiful as Blackberries*, but both unwholeſome, and they ſtain'd all the *white aprons* ſo, that there was no getting of it out. And then to make a fuller deſcription of the place, he ſhould have added: That near to the City of *roaring Lions* there was a Lake, and that Lake was all

all of Brimſtone, but ſtored with overgrown Trouts, which Trouts *ſpawned Preſbyterians*, and thoſe *ſpawned* the *Millecantons* of all other Fanaticks. That the Shoal of *Preſbyterians landed at Geneva*, and devoured all the Biſhop of *Geneva*'s Capons, which are of the greateſt ſize of any in the Reformed-World. And ever ſince their mouths have been ſo in reliſh that the Presbyterians are in all parts the very Canibals of Capons: inſomuch that if Princes do not take care, the race of Capons is in danger to be totally extinguiſhed. But that the River *Rhoſus* was ſo *ſober* and *intelligent*, that its Waters would not mix with this *Lake perilous*, but ran ſheer thorow without ever touching it: nay, ſuch is its apprehenſion leſt the Lake ſhould overtake it, that the River dives it ſelf under ground till the Lake hath loſt the ſcent: and yet when it riſes again, imagining that the Lake is ſtill at its heels, it runs on ſo impetuouſly that it chuſeth rather to paſs through the *roaring Lions*, and never thinks it ſelf ſafe,

till it hath taken ſanctuary at the Popes Town of *Avinion*. He might too have proved that *Calvin* made himſelf *Pope and Emperour*, becauſe the City of *Geneva* ſtamps upon its Coyn the two-headed Imperial Eagle. And, to have given us the utmoſt Terror, he might have conſidered the Alliance and Vicinity of *Geneva* to the *Canton* of *Bern*, the Arms of which City is the Bear, (and an Argument in Heraldry, even Biſhop *Bramhall* himſelf being Judge, might have alſo held in Divinity) and therefore they keep under the Town-houſe conſtantly a whole den of Bears. So that there was never a more dangerous ſituation, nor any thing ſo carefully to be avoided by all Travellers in their wits, as *Geneva:* the *Lions* on one ſide, and the *Bears* on the other.

This Story would have been Nuts to Mother Midnight, and was fit to have bin imbelliſh'd with Mr. *Bayes* his Allegorical Eloquence. And all that he ſaith either by fits and girds of *Calvin*, or in his juſteſt Narratives, hath leſs foundation in Nature: and is indeed twice in-

incredible, firſt in the matter related, and then becauſe Mr. *Bayes* it comes from: or, to expreſs it ſhorter, becauſe of the Tale and the Tales-man. He is not yet come to that Authority but that his Dogmatical *Ipſe Dixits* may rather be a reaſon why we ſhould not believe him. If Mr. *Bayes* will ſpeak of Controverſy; let him enter into a regular Diſputation concerning theſe *Calvinian* Tenets, and not write an Hiſtory. Or, if he will give us the Hiſtory of *Calvin*, let him at the ſame time produce his Authors. And whether Hiſtory or Controverſy, let him be pleas'd ſo long to abate of the exuberancy of his Fancy and Wit; to diſpenſe with his Ornaments and ſuperfluencies of Invention and Satyre, and then a man may conſider whether he may believe his Story, and ſubmit to his Argument. But in the mean time (for all he pleads in pag. 97. of his *Defence*) it looks all ſo like ſubterfuge and inveagling; it is ſo nauſeating and tedious a task, that no man thinks he ows the Author ſo much ſervice as to find

find out the reason of his own *Categoricalness* for him. One may beat the Bush a whole day, but after so much labour shall, for all game, onely spring a Butterfly, or start an Hedghog. Insomuch that I am ever and anon disputing with my self whether Mr. *Boyet* be indeed so ill-natured a person as some would have him, and do not rather innocently write things (as he professes, pag. 4. of his *Preface*) su *exceeding all belief*, that he may make himself and the Company merry. I sometimes could think that he intends no harm either to Publick or Private, but onely rails contentedly to himself and his Muses; That he seeks onely his own diversion, and chargeth his Gun with Wind but to shoot at the Air. Or that, like Boyes, so he may make a great Paper-kite of his own *Letter* of 850 pages, and his *Preface* of an hundred, he hath no further design upon the Poultry of the Village. But he takes care that I shall never be long deceived with that pleasing imagination: and though his Hyperboles and Impossibilities can have onely a ridiculous

diculous effect, he will be ſure to manifeſt that he had a felonious intention. He would take it ill if we ſhould not value him as an Enemy of mankind: and like a raging *Indian* (for in *Europe* it was never before practiſed) he runs a *Mutke* (as they call it there) ſtabbing every man he meets, till himſelf be knockt on the head.

This here is the leaſt pernicious of all his miſchiefs; though it be no leſs in this and all his other Books, than to make the *German Proteſtancy* a reproachful Proverb, and to turn *Geneva* and *Calvin* into a Common-Place of Railing. I had alwayes heard that *Calvin* was a good Scholar, and an honeſt Divine. I have indeed read that he ſpoke ſomething contemptuouſly of our Liturgy: *Sunt in illo Libro quædam tolerabiles ineptiæ.* But that was a ſin which we may charitably ſuppoſe he repented of on his death-bed. And if Mr. *Bayes* had ſome juſt quarrel to him on that or other account, yet for *Divinity*'s *ſake* he needed not thus have made a conſtant Piſſing-place of his Grave. And as

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for *Geneva*, I never perceiv'd before but that it was a very laudable City, that there grew an excellent Grape on the South-ſide of the Lake *Lemane*, that a man might make good chear there, and there was a *Pall-mall*, and one might ſhoot wth the *Arbalet*, or play at *Courte boule* on Sundaies. What was here to inrage our Author ſo that he muſt raze the Fort of St. *Katherine*, and attempt with the ſame ſucceſs a ſecond *Eſcalade*? But the difficulty of the Enterprize doubtleſs provoked his Courage, and the honour he might win made the juſtice of his quarrel. He knew that not only the Common-wealth of *Switzerland*, but the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* would enter the liſts for the common preſervation of the place: and therefore, though it be otherwiſe but a petty Town, he diſdain'd not where the Race was to be run by Monarchs, to exerciſe his footmanſhip.

But is it not a great pity to ſee a man in the flower of his age, and the vigor of his ſtudies, to fall into ſuch a diſtraction,

ction; That his head runs upon nothing but Roman Empire and Eccleſiaſtical Policy? This happens by his growing too early acquainted with *Don Quixot*, and reading the Bible too late: ſo that the firſt impreſſions being moſt ſtrong, and mixing with the laſt, as more novel, have made ſuch a medly in his brain-pan that he is become a mad Prieſt, which of all the ſorts is the moſt incurable. Hence it is that you ſhall hear him anon inſtructing Princes, like *Sancho*, how to govern his Iſland: as he is buſied at preſent in vanquiſhing the *Calviniſts* of *Germany* and *Geneva*. Had he no friends to have given him good counſel before his Underſtanding were quite unſetled? or if there were none near, why did not men call in the neighbours, and ſend for the Parſon of the Pariſh to perſwade with him in time, but let it run on thus till he is fit for nothing but *Bedlam* or *Hogſdon*? However though it be a particular damage, it may tend to a general advantage: and young ſtudents will, I hope, by his example learn to beware hence-

forward

forward of overweening Presumption and prepostrous Ambition.

For this Gentleman, as I have heard, after he had read *Don Quixot* and the Bible, besides such School-books as were necessary for his age, was sent early to the *University*: and there studied hard, and in a short time became a competent Rhetorician, and no ill Disputant. He had learnt how to erect a *Thesis*, and to defend it *Pro* or *Con* with a serviceable distinction: while the Truth is (as his Camarade Mr. *Bayes* hath it on another occasion)

Before a full Pot of Ale you can swallow,
Was here with a Whoop and gone with a Holla.

And so thinking himself now ripe and qualified for the greatest Undertakings, and highest Fortune; he therefore exchanged the narrowness of the University for the Town; but coming out of the confinment of the Square-cap and the Quadrangle into the open Air,

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the Wold began to turn round with him: which he imagined, though it were his own giddineſs, to be nothing leſs than the *Quadrature* of the *Circle*. This accident concurring ſo happily to increaſe the good opinion which he naturally had of himſelf, he thence-forward apply'd to gain a-like reputation with others. He follow'd the Town life, haunted the beſt companies, and, to poliſh himſelf from any Pedantick roughneſs, he read and ſaw the Plaies, with much care and more proficiency than moſt of the Auditory. But all this while he forgot not the main chance, but hearing of a vacancy with a Noble-man, he clap'd in, and eaſily obtain'd to be his Chaplain. From that day you may take the Date of his Preferments and his Ruine. For having ſoon wrought himſelf dexterouſly into his Patrons favour, by ſhort Graces and Sermons, and a mimical way of drolling upon the *Puritans*, which he knew would take both at Chappel and Table; he gained a great Authority likewiſe among all the domeſticks,

meſticks. They all liſtened to him as an Oracle: and they allow'd him by common conſent, to have not onely all the *Divinity*, but more wit too than all the reſt of the family put together. This thing alone elevated him exceedingly in his own conceit, and raiſed his *Hypocondria* into the Region of the Brain: that his head ſwell'd like any Bladder with wind and vapour. But after he was ſtretch'd to ſuch an height in his own fancy, that he could not look down from top to toe but his Eyes dazled at the Precipice of his Stature; there fell out, or in, another natural chance which puſh'd him headlong. For being of an amorous Complexion, and finding himſelf (as I told you) the *Cock-Divine* and the *Cock-Wit* of the Family, he took the priviledge to walk among the Hens: and thought it was not impolitick to eſtabliſh his new-acquired Reputation upon the Gentlewomens ſide. And they that perceiv'd he was a Riſing-man, and of pleaſant Converſation, dividing his Day among them into Canonical hours, of reading

now

now the Common-prayer, and now the Romances, were very much taken with him. The ſympathy of Silk began to ſtir and attract the Tippet to the Pettycoat and the Pettycoat toward the Tippet. The innocent Ladies found a ſtrange unquietneſs in their minds, and could nor diſtinguiſh whether it were Love or Devotion. Neither was he wanting on his part to carry on the Work; but ſhifted himſelf every day with a clean Surplice, and, as oft as he had occaſion to bow, he directed his Reverence towards the Gentlewomens Pew. Till, having before had enough of the Libertine, and undertaken his Calling only for Preferment; he was tranſported now with the Sanctity of his Office, even to extaſy: and like the Biſhop over *Maudlin Colledge* Altar, or like *Maudlin de la Croix*, he was ſeen in his Prayers to be liſted up ſometimes in the Air, and once particularly ſo high that he crack'd his Scul againſt the Chappel Ceiling. I do not hear for all this that he had ever practiſed upon the Honour of the Ladies, but

that he preserved always the Civility of a *Platonick Knight-Errant*. For all this Courtship had no other operation than to make him fall more in love with himself; and if he frequented their company, it was only to speculate his own Baby in their eyes. But being thus, without Competitor or Rival, the Darling of both Sexes in the Family and his own Minion; he grew beyond all measure elated, and that crack of his Scull, as in broken Looking-Glasses, multiply'd him in self-conceit and imagination.

Having fixed his Center in this Nobleman's House, he thought he could now move and govern the whole Earth with the same facility. Nothing now would serve him but he must be a mad-man in print, and write a Book of *Ecclesiastical-Policy*. There he distributes all the *Territories of Conscience* into the Princes Province, and makes the *Hierarchy* to be but Bishops of the *Air*; and talks at such an extravagant rate in things of higher concerments, that the Reader will avow that in the whole dis-

diſcourſe he had not one *lucid interval*. This Book he was ſo bent upon, that he ſate up late at nights, and wanting ſleep, and drinking ſometimes Wine to animate his Fancy, it increas'd his Diſtemper. Beſide that too he had the misfortune to have two Friends, who being both alſo out of their wits, and of the ſame though ſomething a calmer phrenſy, ſpurr'd him on perpetually with commendation. But when his Book was once come out, and he ſaw himſelf an Author; that ſome of the Galants of the Town layd by the new Tune, and the *Tay, tay, taree*, to quote ſome of his impertinencies; that his Title-page was poſted and paſted up at every avenue next under the Play for that afternoon at the Kings or the Dukes Houſe: the Vain-Glory of this totally confounded him. He loſt all the little remains of his underſtanding, and his *Cerebellum* was ſo dryed up, that there was more brains in a Walnut and both their Shells were alike thin and brittle. The King of *France* that loſt his wits, had not near ſo many

unlucky circumſtances to occaſion it; and in the laſt of all there is ſome Similitude. For, as a negligent Page that rode behind and carried the Kings Lance, let it fall on his head, the King being in Armour, and the day hot, which ſo diſordered him that he never recovered it: ſo this Gentleman, in the Dog-dayes, ſtragling by *Temple-bar*, in a maſſy Caſſock and Surcingle, and taking the opportunity at once to piſs and admire the Title-page of his Book; a tall Servant of his, one *J. O.* that was not ſo carefull as he ſhould be, or whether he did it of purpoſe, lets another Book of four hundred leaves fall upon his head; which meeting with the former fracture in his *Cranium*, and all the concurrent Accidents already mentioned, has utterly undone him. And ſo in concluſion his Madneſs hath formed it ſelf into a perfect *Lycanthropy*. He doth ſo verily believe himſelf to be a Wolf, that his ſpeech is all turn'd into howling, yelling, and barking: and if there were any Sheep here, you ſhould ſee him pull out their throats and ſuck

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the blood. Alas, that a ſweet Gentleman, and ſo hopeful, ſhould miſcarry! For want of Cattel here, you find him raving now againſt all the *Calviniſts* of *England*, and worrying the whole Flock of them. For how can they hope to eſcape his chaps and his paws better than thoſe of *Germany* and *Geneva*; of which he is ſo hungry, that he hath ſcratch'd up even their dead bodies out of their Graves to prey upon? And yet this is nothing if you ſaw him in the height of his fits: but he hath ſo beaten and ſpent himſelf before, that he is out of breath at preſent; and though you may diſcover the ſame fury, yet it wants of the ſame vigour. But however you ſee enough of him, my Maſters, to make you beware, I hope, of valuing too high, and truſting too far to your own Abilities.

It were a wild thing for me to *Squire* it after this *Knight*, and accompany him here through all his Extravagancies againſt our *Calviniſts*. You find nothing but *Orthodoxy*, *Syſtems*, and *Syntagms*, *Polemical Theology*, *Subtilties*

and *Distinctions*. *Demosthenes's Tankard-bearers*; *Pragmatical*; *Controversial*: General terms without foundation or reason assigned. That they seem like words of Cabal, & have no significance till they be decipher'd. Or, you would think he were playing at *Substantives* and *Adjectives*. All that rationally can be gathered from what he saith, is that the man is mad. But if you would supply his meaning with your imagination, as if he spoke sense and to some determinate purpose; it is very strange that, conceiving himself to be the Champion of the Church of *England*, he should bid such a generall defiance to the *Calvinists*. For, he knows, or perhaps I may better say he did know before this Phrenzy had subverted both his Understanding and Memory, that most of our ancient, and many of the later Bishops nearer our times, did both hold and maintain those Doctrines which he traduces under that by-word. And the contrary Opinions were even in Bishop *Prideaux's* time accounted so

novel

novel, that, being then publick Profeſſor of *Divinity*, he thought fit to tax Doctor *Heylin* at the Commencement for his new-fangled Divinity: *Cujus*, ſaith he, in the very words of promotion, *te Doctorem creo*. He knew likewiſe that of our preſent Biſhops, though one had leiſure formerly to write a *Rationale* of the *Ceremonies* and *Lyturgie*, and another a Treatiſe of the *Holineſs of Lent*, yet that moſt of them, and 'tis to be ſuppoſed all, have ſtudied other Controverſies, and at another rate than Mr. *Bayes* his Lead can fathom. And as I know none of them that hath publiſhed any Treatiſe againſt the *Calvinian* tenets, ſo I have the Honour to be acquainted with ſome of them who are intirely of that judgment, and differ nothing, but (as of good reaſon) in the point of *Epiſcopacy*. And as for that, Biſhop *Brambal*, page 61. hath proved that *Calvin* himſelf was of the *Epiſcopal* perſwaſion. So that I ſee no reaſon why Mr. *Bayes* ſhould here and every where be ſuch an enemy to *Controverſal skill*, or the *Calviniſts*.

But I perceive 'tis for Bp *Bramhall's* ſake here that all the Tribe muſt ſuffer. This *Bayes* is not a good dog: for he runs at a whole flock of ſheep, when Mr. *B.* was the Deer whom he had in view from the beginning. However having foil'd himſelf ſo long with every thing he meets, after him now he goes, and will never leave till he hath run him down. Poor Mr. *B.* I find that when he was a Boy he pluck'd Biſhop *Bramhall's Sloes* and *ate his Bullice*; and now, when he is as ſuperannuated as the Biſhop's Book, he muſt be whipt for't, there is no remedy. And yet I have heard, and Mr. *Bayes* himſelf ſeems to intimate as much, that how-ever he might in his younger years have miſtaken, yet that even as early as Biſhop *Bramhall's* Diſcourſe, he began to retract: and that as for all his ſins againſt the Church of *England*, he hath in ſome late Treatiſes cryed *Peccavi* with a Witneſs. But Mr. *Bayes*, doth not this now look like *Sorcery* and *Extortion*, which of all crimes you purge your ſelf from ſo often without an Accuſer? For

firſt;

firſt; whereas the old Biſhop was at reſt, and had under his laſt Pillow laid by all cares and conteſts of this lower World; you by your *Necromancy* have diſturb'd him, and rais'd his Ghoſt to perſecute and haunt *Mr. B.* whom doubtleſs at his death he had pardoned. But if you called him up to aſk ſome Queſtions too concerning your Eccleſiaſtical Policy, as I am apt to ſuppoſe, I doubt you had no better Anſwer than in the Song:

Art thou forlorn of God, and com'ſt to me?
What can I tell thee then but miſerie?

And then, as for Extortion; who but ſuch an *Hebrew Jew* as you, would, after an honeſt man had made ſo full and voluntary Reſtitution, not yet have been ſatisfied without ſo many pounds of his fleſh over into the bargain? Though *J. O.* be in a deſperate condition, yet methinks Mr. B. not *being paſt Grace*, ſhould not neither *have been paſt Mercy*. Are there no terms of Pardon, Mr. *Bayes?* is there no time for Expiation? but, after ſo ample a Confeſſion as he

hath

hath made, must he now be hang'd too to make good the Proverb? It puts me in mind of a Story in the time of the *Guelphs* and *Ghibilines*, whom I perceive Mr. *Bayes* hath heard of: They were two Factions in *Italy*, of which the *Guelphs* were for the Pope, and the *Ghibilines* for the Emperour; and these were for many years carried on and fomented with much animosity, to the great disturbance of Christendom. Which of these two were the *Nonconformists* in those days, I can no more determin, than which of our Parties here at home is now *schismatical*. But so *nonconformable* they were to one another, that the Historian said they took care to differ in the least circumstances of any humane action: and, as those that have the Masons Word, secretly discern one another; so in the peeling or cutting but of an Onion, a *Guelph* and *vice versa* would at first sight have distinguished a *Ghibiline*. Now one of this latter sort coming at *Rome* to Confession upon *Ashwednesday*, the Pope or the Penitentiary sprinkling Ashes on the Man's head

with

with the usual ceremony instead of pronouncing *Memento homo quod Cinis es & in Cinerem revertêris*, changed it to *Memento homo quod Ghibilinus es &c.* And even thus it fares with Mr. *B.* who though he should creep on his knees up the whole Stairs of *Scholastick Penitence*, I am confident neither he, nor any of his Party, shall by Mr. *Bayes* his good will ever be absolved. And therefore truly if I were in Mr. B's case, if I could not have my Confession back again, yet it should be a warning unto me not without better grounds to be so coming and so good-natured for the future.

But whatever he do, I hope others will consider what usage they are like to find at Mr. *Bayes*'s hand, and not suffer themselves by the touch of his *Penitential Rod* to be transformed into Beasts, even into *Rats*, as here he hath done with Mr. B. I have indeed wondred often at this *Bayes* his insolence, who summons-in all the World, and *preacheth* up only this *Repentance*: and so frequently in his Books he calls for *Testimonies*, *Signal Marks*, *Publick Acknow-*

knowledgment, Satisfaction, Retantation, and I know not what. He that hath made the passage to Heaven so easie that one may fly thither without Grace, (as *Gonzales* to the Moon only by the help of his *Ganſa's*); he that hath *diſintricated* its narrow paths from thoſe *Labyrinths* which *J. O.* and Mr. *B.* have planted; this Overſeer of God's High-wayes, (if I may with reverence ſpeak it) who hath paved a broad Cauſway with Moral Virtue thorow his Kingdom; he me-thinks ſhould not have made the *proceſs of Loyalty* more difficult than that of *Salvation*. What *Signal Marks*, what *Teſtimonies* would he have of this Converſion? Every man cannot, as he hath done, write an *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, a *Defence*, a *Preface*: and ſome, if they could, would not do it after his manner; leſt in ſtead of obliging thereby the King and the Church, it ſhould be a Teſtimony to the contrary. Neither, unleſs men have better Principles of Allegiance at home, are they likely to be reduced by Mr. *Bayes* his way of perſwaſion. He is the

firſt

first Minister of the Gospel that ever had it in his Commission *to rail at all Nations*. And, though it hath been long practised, I never observed any great success by reviling men into *Conformity*. I have heard that *Charms* may even invite the Moon out of Heaven, but I never could see her moved by the *Rhetorick* of *Barking*. I think it ought to be highly penal for any man to impose other conditions upon his Majesties good Subjects than the King expects, or the Law requires. When you have done all, you must yet appear before Mr. *Bayes* his Tribunal, and he hath a new Test yet to put you to. I must confess at this rate the *Nonconformists* deserve some Compassion: that after they have done or suffered legally and to the utmost, they must still be subjected to the *Wand* of a *Verger*, or to the wanton lash of every *Pedant*; that they must run the *Ganteloop*, or down with their breeches as oft as he wants the prospect of a more pleasing *Nudity*. But I think they may chuse whether they will submit or no to his

Jurif-

Jurisdiction. Let them but (as I hope they do) fear God, honour the King, preserve their Consciences, follow their Trades, and look to their Chimnies; and they need not fear Master *Bayes* and all his Malice. But after he hath sufficiently insulted over Mr. B's ignorance and vanity, with other Complements of the like nature, in recompence of that *candor and civility* which he acknowledges *him to have now learnt towards the Church of England*, Mr. *Bayes* (forgetting what had past long since betwixt him and the Bookseller) saith, in excuse of his severity, that *this Treatise was not published to impair Mr.* B's *esteem in the least, but for a correction of his scribling humour, and to warn their Rat-Divines that are perpetually nibling and gnawing other mens Writings.* Now I must confess Mr. *Bayes* this is a very handsome Welcome to Mr. B. that was come so far to see you, and doubtless upon this encouragement he will visit you often. This is an admirable dexterity our Author hath (I wish I could learn it) *to correct a man's scribling humour*

many without impairing in the least his reputation. He is as courteous as Lightning, and can melt the Sword without ever hurting the Scabbard. But as for their *Rat-Divines*, I wonder they are not all poysoned with nibling at his Writings; he hath ſtrewed ſo much *Arſenick* in every leaf. But however methinks he ſhould not have grudged them ſo ſlender a ſuſtenance. For though there was a Sow in *Arcadia* ſo fat and inſenſible that ſhe ſuffered a Rats neſt in her buttock, and they had both Dyet and Lodging in the ſame Gammon; yet it is not every *Rats* good fortune to be ſo well provided. And for *Puſhpin-Divinity* I confeſs it is a new term of Art, and I ſhall henceforward take notice of it, but I am afraid in general it doth not tend much to the reputation of the Faculty.

And now, though he told us at the beginning, that the Bookſeller was the main reaſon of publiſhing this Book of the B ſhop and his own Preface, he tels us that the main reaſon of its publication was to give ſome check to their preſent

ſent diſingenuity, that is to ſay to that of *J. O.* And *J. O.* be it at preſent. He is co ne ſo much nearer however to the Truth, though we ſhall find ere we have done that there is ſtill a mainer reaſon.

When I firſt took notice of this miſunderſtanding betwixt Mr. *Bayes* and *J. O.* I conſidered whether it were not Execution-day with the whole *Latine Alphabet*: whether all the Letters were not to ſuffer in the ſame manner, except *C* only, which (having been the mark of Condemnation) might have a pardon to ſerve for the Executioner. I began to repent of my Undertaking, being afraid that the Quarrel was with the whole *Cris-creſs-Row*, and that we muſt fight it out through all the Squadrons of the *Vowels*, the *Mutes* the *Semi-vowels* and the *Liquids*. I foreſaw a ſore and endleſs labour, and a battel the longeſt that ever was read of; being probable to continue as long as one Letter was left alive, or there were any uſe of Reading. Therefore, to ſpare mine own pains, and prevent *Ink-ſhed*, I was adviſing the Letters to go before

Mr.

Mr. *Bales*, or any other his Majesties Justices of Peace, to swear that they were in danger of their Lives; and desire that Mr. *Bayes* might be bound to the *Good-behaviour*. But after this I had another Phancy, and that not altogether unreasonable; that Mr. *Bayes* had, onely for health and exercise-sake, drawn *F. O.* by chance out of the number of the rest, to try how he could rail at a Letter, and that he might be well in breath upon any occasion of greater consequence. For, how perfect soever a man may have been in any Science; yet without continual practice he will find a sensible decay of his faculty. Hence also, and upon the same natural ground, it is the wisdome of Cats to whet their Claws against the Chairs and Hangings, in meditation of the next *Rat* they are to encounter. And I am confident that Mr. *Bayes* by this way hath brought himself into so good railing-case, that pick what Letter you will out of the Alphabet, he is able to write an Epistle upon it of 723 pages (I have now told them right) to

the Author of the *Friendly Debates.*

Now though this had very much of probability, I had yet a further Conjecture; that this *F. O.* was a *Talisman*, signed under some peculiar influence of the heavenly bodies, and that the Fate of Mr. *Bayes* was bound up within it. Whether it be so or no I know not: but this I am assured of, without the help either of *Syderal Magick* or *Judicial Astrologie*, that when ☽ and ☌ are in *Conjunction* they do more certainly than any of the *Planets* forebode that a great *Ecclesiastical Politician* shall that Year run mad. I confess after all this, when I was come to the dregs of my phansie (for we all have our infirmities, and Mr. *Bayes* his *Defence* was but the *blew-John* of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, and this *Preface* the Tap-droppings of his *Defence*) I reflected whether Mr. *Bayes* having no particular cause of indignation against the Letters, there might not have been a mistake of the Printer, and that they were to be read in one word *Io* that uses to go before *Paan*: that is in English a Triumph Before the Victory.

ſtory. Or whether it alluded to *Io* that we read of at School, the Daughter of *Inachus*; and that as *Juno* perſecuted the Heifer, ſo this was an *He-Cow*, that is to ſay a *Bull* to be baited by Mr. *Bayes* the *Thunderer*. But theſe being Conceits too trivial, though a *Ragouſt* fit enough for Mr. *Bayes* his palate, I was forced moreover to quit them, remarking that it was an J Conſonant. And I plainly at laſt perceived that this *J. O.* was a very Man as any of us are; and had a Head, and a Mouth with Tongue and Teeth in it, and Hands with Fingers and Nails upon them: nay, that he could read and write, and ſpeak as well as I or Mr. *Bayes*, either of us. When I once found this, the buſineſs appear'd more ſerious, and I was willing to ſee what was the matter that ſo much exaſperated Mr. *Bays*, who is *a Perſon*, as he ſaith himſelf, *of ſuch a tame & ſoftly humour, & ſo cold a complexion, that he thinks himſelf ſcarce capable of hot and paſſionate impreſſions*. I conclude that neceſſarily there muſt be ſome extraordinary Accident &

Occaſion that could alter ſo good a Nature. For I ſaw that he purſued *J. O.* if not from *Poſt to Pillar*, yet from *Pillar to Poſt*, and I diſcerned all along the footſteps of a moſt inveterate and implacable Malice. As oft as he does but name thoſe two firſt Letters, he is, like the Iſland of *Fayal*, on fire in three-ſcore and ten places.

You ſee, Mr. *Bayes*, that I too have improved my wit with reading the *Gazetts*. Were you of that Fellows diet here about Town, that epicurizes upon burning Coals, drinks healths in ſcalding Brimſtone, ſcraunches the Glaſſes for his *Deſſert*, and draws his breath through gloing Tobacco-pipes. Nay, to ſay a thing yet *greater*; had you never taſted other ſuſtenance than the Focus of *burning Glaſſes*, you could not ſhew more *flame* than you do alwayes upon that ſubject. And yet one would think that even from the *little ſports*, with your *comfortable importance* after ſupper, you ſhould have learnt when *J. O.* came into play, to *love your Love* with an J. becauſe he is *Judicious*,

cious, though you *hate your Love with an* J, becauſe he is *jealous:* and then to *love your Love with an* O, becauſe he is *Oraculous*, though you *hate your love with an* O, becauſe he is *Obſcure:* Is it not ſtrange, that in thoſe moſt benign minutes of a Man's life, when the Stars ſimile, the Birds ſing, the Winds whiſper, the Fountains warble, the Trees bloſſom, and univerſal Nature ſeems to invite it ſelfe to the *Bridal*; When the Lion pulls in his Claws, and the Aſpick layes by its Poyſon, and all the moſt noxious Creatures grow amorouſly innocent: that even then, Mr. *Bayes* alone ſhould not be able to refrain his Malignity? As you love your ſelf *Madam*, let him not come near you. He hath been fed all his life with Vipers inſteed of Lampreys, and Scorpions for Crayfiſh: and if at any time he eat Chickens they had been cramb'd with Spiders, till he hath ſo invenomed his whole ſubſtance that 'tis much ſafer to bed with a Mountebank before he hath taken his Antidote. But it cannot be any vulgar fur-

nace that hath chafed ſo *cool* a Salamander. 'Tis not the ſtrewing of *Cowitch* in his *Genial-bed* that could thus diſquiet him the firſt night. And therefore let's take the Candle and ſee whether there be not ſome body underneath that hath cut the Bed-Cords.

There was a worthy Divine, not many years dead, who in his younger time being of a facetious and unlucky humour, was commonly known by the name of *Tom Triplet*. He was brought up at *Pauls School*, under a ſevere Maſter, Dr. *Gill*, and from thence he went to the Univerſity. There he took liberty (as 'tis uſual with thoſe that are emancipated from School) to tel Tales, and make the Diſcipline ridiculous under which he was bred. But, not ſuſpecting the Doctor's intelligence, comming once to Town, he went in full School to give him a Viſit, and expected no leſs than to get a *Play-day* for his former acquaintance. But, inſtead of that, he found himſelf hors'd up in a trice; though he appeal'd in vain to the Priviledges of the Univerſi-

ty

ty, pleaded *Adultus*, and invoked the mercy of the Spectators. Nor was he let down till the Master had planted a Grove of Birch in his back-side, for the Terrour and publick Example of all Waggs that divulge the Secrets of *Priscian*, and make merry with their Teachers. This stuck so with *Triplet*, that all his life-time he never forgave the Doctor, but sent him every New-years-tide an Anniversary Ballad to a new Tune, and so in his turn avenged himself of his jerking Pedagogue.

Now when I observed that of late years Mr. *Bayes* had regularly *spawned* his Books; in 1670 the *Ecclesiastical Policy*; in 1671 the *Defence of the Ecclesiastical Policy*; and now in 1672 this *Preface* to Bishop *Bramhal*, & that they were writ in a stile so vindictive and poynant, that they wanted nothing but rime to be right *Tom Triplet*; and that their edge bore alwayes upon *F. O.* either in broad meanings or in plain terms; I began to suspect that where there was so great resemblance in the Effects, there might be some parallel in

their Cauſes. For though the Peeks of Players among themſelves, or of Poet againſt Poet, or of a Conformiſt-Divine againſt a Nonconformiſt, are dangerous, and of late times have cauſed great diſturbance; yet I never remarked ſo irreconcileable and implacable a ſpirit as that of Boyes againſt their Schoolmaſters or Tutors. The quarrels of their Education have an influence upon their Memories and Underſtandings for ever after. They cannot ſpeak of their Teachers with any patience or civility; and their diſcourſe is never ſo flippant, nor their Wits ſo fluent as when you put them upon that *Theme*. Nay, I have heard old Men, otherwiſe, ſober, peaceable and good-natured, who never could forgive *Oſbolſton*, as the younger are ſtill inveighing againſt Dr. *Busby*. It were well that both old and young would reform this vice, and conſider how eaſie a thing it is upon particular grudges, and as they conceive out of a juſt cenſure, to ſlip either into juvenile petulancy or inveterate uncharitableneſs. And had

there

there not been ſomething of this in his own caſe, I am confident Mr. *Bayes* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, in order to the publick Peace and ſecurity of the Government, could not have failed to admoniſh Princes to beware of this growing Evil, and to brandiſh the *Publick Rods* if not *the Axes* againſt the Boyes, to teach them better manners. And he would have aſſured them that they might have done it with all ſafety, notwithſtanding that there were in proportion an hundred Boyes againſt one *Preceptor*. But therefore is it not poſſible that *J. O.* and Mr. *Bayes* have known one another formerly in the Univerſity; and that (as in Seniority there is a kind of Magiſtracy) *Bayes* being yet young, *J. O.* conceiv'd himſelf in thoſe dayes to be his Superiour, and exerciſed an Academical Juriſdiction or Dominion over him. Now whether *J. O.* might not be too ſevere upon him there (for all men are prone to be cogent and ſupercilious when they are in Office) or whether Mr. *Bayes* might not make ſome little eſcapes and excurſions there

(as

(as young men are apt to do when they are got together) that I know not, and rather believe the contrary. But that is certain that the young Wits in the Universities have alwayes an animosity against the Doctors, and take a peculiar felicity in having a lucky hit at any of them. I rather suppose that after Mr. *Bayes* had changed the place, and his condition, to be the Noblemans Chaplain, he might commit some exorbitance in *J.O's* opinion, or preach or write something to *J.O's* reproach, and published the Secrets of the *Holy Brother hood*: and that *J.O.* having got him within his reach, did therefore (figuratively speaking)

—Instead of Maid Jillian
Take up his Malepillian,
And whipt him like a baggage —

as *Tom Triplet* expresses it. This might well raise Mr. *Bayes* his Choler, who, considering himself to be now in Holy Orders, and conceiving that he had been as safe as in a Sanctuary under his Patrons protection, must needs take it ill to be handled so irreverently. If it were

were thus in Fact, and that *J. O.* might presume too much upon his former Authority to give him Correction; yet it is the more excusable, if Mr. *Bayes* had on his part been guilty of so much disingenuity. For though a man may be allowed once in his life to change his Party, and the whole Scene of his Affairs, either for his Safety or Preferment; nay, though every man be obliged to change an hundred times backward and forward, if his Judgement be so weak & variable; yet there are some drudgeries that no man of Honour would put himself upon, and but few submit to if they were imposed. As suppose one had thought fit to pass over from one Perswasion of the Christian Religion unto another, he would not chuse to spit thrice at every Article that he relinquished, to curse solemnly his Father and Mother for having educated him in those Opinions, to animate his new Aquaintances to the massacring of his former Camarades. These are businesses that can only be expected from a Renegade of

Argier

Argier or *Tunis*; to over-doe in expiation, and gain better credence of being a ſincere *Muſulman*. And truly, though I can ſcarcely believe that Mr. *Bayes* hath ſo mean and deſperate intentions, which yet his words ſeem too often to manifeſt; the Offices however which he undertakes are almoſt as diſhonourable. For he hath ſo ſtudied and improved their *Jargon* as he calls it, heard their Sermons and Prayers ſo attentively, ſearched the Scriptures ſo narrowly, that a man may juſtly ſuſpect he had formerly ſet up of *J. O's* Profeſſion, and having the language ſo perfectly, hath upon *this junctture of affairs* betaken himſelf to turn *Spy* and *Intelligencer*; and 'tis evident that he hath travell'd the Country for that purpoſe. So that I cannot reſemble him better than to that Politick Engine who about two years ago was employed by ſome of *Oxford* as a *Miſſionary* amongſt the Nonconformiſts of the adjacent Counties; and upon deſign, either gathered a Congregation of his own, or preach'd amongſt others, till having got all their

Names

Names, he threw off the Vizard, and appear'd in his own Colours, an honeſt *Informer*. But I would not have any man take Mr. *Bayes* his *Fanatical Geography* for authentick, leſt he ſhould be as far miſled, as in the ſituation of *Geneva*. It ſuffices that Mr. *Bayes* hath done therein as much as ſerved to his purpoſe, and mixed probability enough for ſuch as know not better, and whoſe eares are of a juſt bore for his fable.

But *I. O.* being of age and parts ſufficient either to manage or to neglect this Quarrel, I ſhall as far as poſſible decline the mentioning of him, ſeeing I have too upon (further intelligence and conſideration) found that he was not the perſon whom Mr. *Bayes* principally intended. For the truth of it is, the King was the Perſon concern'd from the beginning.

His Majeſty before his moſt happy and miraculous Reſtauration, had ſent over a Declaration of his Indulgence to tender Conſciences in Eccleſiaſtical matters. Which, as it was doubtleſs the real Reſult of the laſt Advice leſt

Him

Him by his glorious Father, and of his own consummate Prudence and natural Benignity; so at his Return he religiously observed and promoted it as far as the Passions and Influences of the contrary Party would give leave. For, whereas among all the decent Circumstances of his welcom Return, the Providence of God had so cooperated with the duty of his Subjects, that so glorious an Action should neither be soiled with the blood of Victory, nor lessened by any capitulations of Treaty, so not to be wanting on his part in courtesy, as I may say, to so happy a conjuncture, He imposed upon himself an Oblivion of former offences, and this Indulgence in Ecclesiastical affairs. And to royal and generous minds no stipulations are so binding as their own voluntary promises: nor is it to be wondred if they hold those Conditions that they put upon themselves the most inviolable. He therefore carried the Act of Oblivion and Indempnity thorow: that Party who had suffered so vastly in the late Combustions not refusing to imitate

tate his Generoſity, but throwing all their particular Loſſes & Reſentments into the publick Reckoning. But when it came to the Eccleſiaſtical Part, the accompliſhment of which onely, remain'd behind to have perfected his Majeſty's felicity, the buſineſs I warrant you would not go ſo, (as I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more particularly.) For, though I am ſorry to ſpeak it, yet it is a ſad truth, that the Animoſities and Obſtinacy of ſome of the Clergy have in all Ages been the greateſt Obſtacle to the Clemency, Prudence and good Intentions of Princes, and the Eſtabliſhment of their Affairs. His Majeſty therefore expected a better ſeaſon, and having at laſt rid himſelf of a great Miniſter of State who had headed this Intereſt, he now proceeded plainly to recommend to his Parliament effectually and with repeated inſtances, the Conſideration of tender Conſciences. After the Kings laſt repreſenting of this matter to the Parliament, Mr. *Bayes* took ſo much time as was neceſſary for the maturing of ſo accurate

accurate a Book which was to be the ſtandard of Government for all future Ages, and he was happily delivered in 1670 of his Eccleſiaſtical Policy. And, though he thought fit in this firſt Book to treat his Majeſty more tenderly than in thoſe that followed, yet even in this he doth all along uſe great liberty and preſumption. Nor can what he objects, page 282, to weak Conſciences, take place ſo juſtily upon them as upon himſelf: *who, while his Prince might expect his Compliance, doth give him Council, adviſes him how to govern the Kingdom, blames and corrects the Laws, and tells him how this and the other might be mended.* But that I may not involve the thing in generals, but repreſent undeniably Mr. *Bayes* his performance in this undertaking. I ſhall without Art write down his own Words and his own *quod Scripſi Scripſi*, as they ly naked to the view of every Reader.

The grand Theſis upon which he ſtakes not onely all his own Divinity and Policy, his Reputation, Preferment,

ment and Conſcience, (of moſt of which he hath no reaſon to be prodigal) but even the Crowns and Fate of Princes, and the Liberties, Lives and Eſtates, and, which is more, the Conſciences of their Subjects, (which are too valuable to be truſted in his diſpoſal,) is this, pag. 10. *That it is abſolutely neceſſary to the peace and government of the World, that the ſupream Magiſtrate of every Commonwealth ſhould be veſted with a Power to govern and conduct the Conſciences of Subjects in affairs of Religion.* And pag. 12. he explains himſelf more fully: that *Unleſs Princes have Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend moſt advantagious to publick peace and tranquillity, and reſtrain thoſe religious miſtakes that tend to its ſubverſion, they are no better then Statues and Images of Authority.* pag. 13. *A Prince is endued with a Power to conduct Religion, and that muſt be ſubject to his Dominion as well as all other Affairs of State.* P. 27. *If Princes ſhould forgoe their Soveraignty over mens Conſciences in matters of Religion, they leave themſelves leſs power than*

 it

is absolutely necessary, &c. And in brief: *The supream Government of every Commonwealth, where-ever it is lodged, must of necessity be universal, absolute, and uncontroulable in all affairs whatsoever that concern the Interests of Mankind and the ends of Government*, P. 32. *He in whom the Supream Power resides, having Authority to assign to every Subject his proper function, and among others these of the Priesthood; the exercise thereof as he has power to transfer upon others, so he may if he please reserve it to himself.* P. 33. *Our Saviour came not to unsettle the Foundations of Government, but left the Government of the World in the same condition he found it.* P. 34. *The Government of Religion was vested in Princes by an antecedent right to Christ.*— This being the Magisterial and main Point that he maintains, the rest of his Assertions may be reckoned as Corollaries to this *Thesis*, and without which indeed such an unlimited Maxime can never be justified. Therefore, to make a Conscience fit for the nonse, he sayes, p. 89. *Men may think of things according to their own per-*

perſwaſions, and aſſert the freedom of their judgments againſt all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Prerogative of the Mind of Man within its own Dominions, its Kingdom is intellectual, &c. Whilſt Conſcience acts within its proper ſphere, the Civil Power is ſo far from doing it violence, that it never can. P. 92. *Mankind have the ſame natural right to Liberty of Conſcience in matters of Religious Worſhip as in Affairs of Juſtice and Honeſty; that is to ſay, a Liberty of Judgment, but not of Practice.* And in the ſame page he determines *Chriſtian Liberty* to be *founded upon the Reaſonableneſs of this Principle.* P. 308. *In caſes and diſputes of Publick concernment, Private men are not properly* ſui Juris, *They have no power over their own actions: they are not to be directed by their own judgments, or determined by their own wills, but by the commands and determinations of the Publick Conſcience; and if there be any ſin in the Command, he that impoſed it ſhall anſwer for it, and not I whoſe whole duty it is to obey. The Commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will*

hallow, or at leaſt excuſe my action, and ſo ſecure me from ſin, if not from error: and in all doubtful and diſputable caſes, 'tis better to err with Authority than to be in the right againſt it: not only becauſe the danger of a little error (and ſo it is if it be diſputable) is outweighed by the importance of the great duty of Obedience, &c.

Another of his Corollaries is, *That God hath appointed* (p. 80.) *the Magiſtrates to be his Truſtees upon Earth, and his Officials to act and determine in Moral Virtues and Pious Devotions according to all accidents and emergencies of affairs: to aſſign new particulars of the Divine Law; to declare new bounds of right and wrong, which the Law of God neither doth nor can limit.* P. 69. *Moral Virtue being the moſt material and uſeful part of all Religion, is alſo the utmoſt end of all its other duties.* P. 76. *All Religion muſt of neceſſity be reſolved into Enthuſiaſm or Morality. The former is meer Impoſture; and therefore all that is true muſt be reduced to the latter.* Having thus enabled the Prince, diſpenſed with Conſcience, and fitted up a Moral Religion for that Conſcience;

to

to ſhow how much thoſe Moral Virtues are to be valued, P. 53. of the Preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* he affirms, that *'tis abſolutely neceſſary to the Peace and happineſs of Kingdoms, that there be ſet up a more ſevere Government over Mens Conſciences and Religious Perſwaſions, than over their Vices and Immoralities.* And, pag. 55. of the ſame, that *Princes may with leſs hazard give liberty to mens Vices and Debaucheries than their Conſciences.* But for what belongs particularly to the uſe of their Power in Religion; he firſt (p. 56 of his Book) ſaith, that *the Proteſtant Reformation hath not been able to reſettle Princes in their full and natural rights in reference to its concerns*: & 58. *moſt Proteſtant Princes have been frighted, not to ſay hector'd out of the exerciſe of their Eccleſiaſtical jurisdiction.* P 271. *If Princes will be reſolute (and if they will govern ſo they muſt be) they may eaſily make the muſt ſtuborn Conſcience bend to their reſolutions.* P. 221. *Princes muſt be ſure to bind on at firſt their Eccleſiaſtical Laws with the ſtraiteſt knot, and afterward keep them in force by the ſeverity of their execution.* 223.

ſpeaking of honeſt and well meaning men: *So eaſy is it for men to deſerve to be puniſhed for their Conſciences, that there is no Nation in the World, in which were Government rightly underſtood and duly managed, miſtakes and abuſes of Religion would not ſupply the Galleys with vaſtly greater numbers than Villany.* Pag. 54. of the Preface to Eccleſiaſt. Policy. *Of all Villians the well meaning Zealot is the moſt dangerous.* P. 49. *The Fanatick-Party in Country Towns and Villages ariſeth not (to ſpeak within compaſs) above the proportion of one to twenty. Whilſt the publick peace and ſettlement is ſo unluckily defeated by quarrels and mutinies of Religion, to erect and create new Trading Combinations, is only to build ſo many Neſts of Faction and Sedition, &c. For it is notorious that there is not any ſort of people ſo inclinable to ſeditious practices as the Trading part of a Nation.* And now though many as material paſſages might be heap'd up out of his Book on all theſe and other as tender Subjects, I ſhall conclude this imperfect enumeration with one Corollary more, to which indeed

indeed his grand Theſis and all the ſuperſtructures are ſubordinate and accommodated. P. 166. *Princes cannot pluck a pin out of the Church, but the State immediately ſhakes and totters.* This is the *Syntagm* of Mr. *Bayes* his Divinity, and *Syſtem* of his Policy: The Principles of which confine upon the *Territories* of *Malmsbury*, and the ſtile, as far as his Wit would give him leave, imitates that Language: But the Arrogance and Dictature with which he impoſes it on the world, ſurpaſſes by far the preſumption either of *Gondibert* or *Leviathan*. For he had indeed a very Politick fetch or two that might have made a much wiſer man then he, more confident. For he imagined firſt of all, that he had perfectly ſecured himſelf from any mans anſwering him: not ſo much upon the true reaſon, that is, becauſe indeed ſo paltry a Book did not deſerve an Anſwer; as becauſe he had ſo confounded the Queſtion with differing terms and contradictory expreſſions, that he might upon occaſion affirm whatſoever he denyed, or deny

whatſoever he affirmed. And then beſides, becauſe he had ſo intangled the matter of Conſcience with the Magiſtrates Power, that he ſuppoſed no man could handle it thorowly without bringing himſelf within the Statute of treaſonable words, and at leaſt a *Premunire*. But laſt of all, becauſe he thought that whoſoever anſwered him muſt for certain be of a contrary Judgment; and he that was of a contrary Judgment ſhould be a Fanatick; and if one of them preſumed to be medling, then Mr. *Bayes* (as all Divines have a *Non-obſtante* to the *Jejunium Cecilianum*, and to the *Act of Oblivion* and *Indempnity*) would either burn that, or tear it in pieces. Being ſo well fortified on this ſide, upon the other he took himſelf to be impregnable. His Majeſty muſt needs take it kindly that he gave him ſo great an acceſſion of *Territory*: and, leſt he ſhould not be thought rightly to underſtand Government, nay leſt Mr. *Bayes* by virtue of P. 271. ſhould not think him fit to govern, he could not in prudence and ſafety but ſubmit to his

his Admonition and Inſtructions. But if he would not, Mr. *Bayes* knew, ay that he did, how to be even with him, and would write another Book that ſhould do his buſineſs. For, the ſame Power that had given the Prince that Authority, could alſo revoke it.

But let us ſee therefore what ſucceſs the whole Contrivance met with, or what it deſerved. For, after things have been laid with all the depth of humane Policy, there happens lightly ſome ngly little contrary accident from ſome quarter or other of Heaven, that fruſtrates and renders all ridiculous.

And here, for brevity and diſtinction ſake, I muſt make uſe of the ſame priviledge by which I call him Mr. *Bayes*, to denominate alſo his ſeveral Aphoriſms or Hypotheſes: and let him take care whether or no they be ſignificant,

Firſt, The *Unlimited Magiſtrate.*
Secondly, *The Publick Conſcience.*
Thirdly, *Moral Grace.*
Fourthly, *Debauchery Tolerated.*
Fifthly. *Perſecution recommended.*
And laſtly, *Puſhpin-Divinity.*

And

And now, though I intend not to be longer than the nature of *Animadverſions* requires, (this alſo being but collateral to my work of examining the Preface, and having been ſo abundantly performed already) yet neither can I proceed well without ſome Preface. For, as I am obliged to ask pardon if I ſpeak of ſerious things ridiculouſly; ſo I muſt now beg excuſe if I ſhould hap to diſcourſe of ridiculous things ſeriouſly. But I ſhall, ſo far as poſſible, obſerve *decorum*, and, whatever I talk of, not commit ſuch an Abſurdity, as to be grave with a Buffoon. But the principal cauſe of my Apology is, becauſe I ſee I am drawn in to mention Kings and Princes, and even our own; whom, as I think of with all duty and reverence, ſo I avoid ſpeaking of either in jeſt or earneſt, leſt by reaſon of my private condition & breeding, I ſhould, though moſt unwillingly, trip in a word, or fail in the mannerlineſs of an expreſſion. But Mr. *Bayes*, becauſe Princes ſometimes hear men of his quality play their Part, or preach a Ser-

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mon, grows ſo inſolent that he thinks himſelf fit to be their Governour. So dangerous it is to let ſuch creatures be too familiar. They know not their diſtance, and like the Aſs in the Fable, becauſe they ſee the Spaniel play with their Maſters Leggs, they think themſelves priviledged to paw and ramp upon his Shoulders. Yet though I muſt follow his track now I am in, I hope I ſhall not write after his Copy.

As for his firſt Hypotheſis of the *Unlimited Magiſtrate*, I muſt for this once do him right, that after I had read in his 12th page, that *Princes have power to bind their ſubjects to that Religion they apprehend moſt advantagious to publick Peace and Tranquility*; a long time after, not as I remember till pag. 82. when he bethought himſelf better, he ſaith, *No Rites nor Ceremonies can be eſteemed unlawful in the Worſhip of God, unleſs they tend to debauch men either in their practices or their conceptions of the Deity.* But no man is in Ingenuity obliged to do him that ſervice for the future; neither yet doth that limitati-

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on bind up or interpret what he before ſo looſly affirmed. However, take all along the Power of the Magiſtrate as he hath ſtated it; I am confident if Biſhop *Bramhall* were alive (who could no more forbear *Grotius*, than Mr. *Bayes* could the Biſhop, notwithſtanding their friendſhip) he would beſtow the ſame Cenſure upon him that he doth upon *Grotius*, p. 18. *When I read his Book of the Right of the Sovereign Magiſtrate in Sacred things, he ſeem'd to me to come too near an Eraſtian, and to leſſen the power of the Keys too much, which Chriſt left as a Legacy to his Church. It may be he did write that before he was come to full maturity of judgment: and ſome other things, I do not ſay after he was ſuperannuated, but without that due deliberation which he uſeth at other times*; (*wherein a man may deſire* Mr. *Bayes* in Mr. *Bayes*) *Or it may be ſome things have been changed in his* Book, *as I have been told by one of his neareſt friends, and that we ſhall ſhortly ſee a more Authentick Edition of all his Works. This is certain, that ſome of thoſe things which I diſlike, were not his own judg-*

judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters. And had Mr. *Bayes* (as he ought to have done) carryed his Book to any of the Biſhops, to whom it belongs, or their Chaplains, for a Licence to print it, I cannot conceive that he could have obtained it in better terms than what I have collected out of the 108 page of his Anſwerer: *Notwithſtanding the old Pleas of the* Jus Divinum *of Epiſcopacy, of Example and Direction Apoſtolical, of a Parity of Reaſon between the condition of the Church whilſt under Extraordinary Officers, and whilſt under Ordinary, of the power of the Church to appoint Ceremonies for Decency and Order, of the patern of the Churches of old*; (all which under Proteſtation are reſerved till the firſt opportunity;) I have upon reading of this Book, found that it may be of uſe for the *preſent Juncture of Affairs*, and therefore let it be printed. And, as I think, he hath diſobliged the Clergy of *England* in this matter; ſo I believe the favour that he doth his Majeſty is not equivalent to that damage. For (that I may, with Mr. *Bays* his leave,

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prophane *Ben. Johnson*,) *though the graveſt Divines ſhould be his Flatterers*; he hath a very quick ſenſe, and (ſhall I prophane *Horace* too in the ſame period?)

Hunc male ſi palpere recalcitrat undiq; tutus.

If one ſtroke him ilfavouredly, he hath a terrible way of kicking, and will fling you to the Stable door; but is himſelf ſafe on every ſide. He knows it's all but that you may get into the Saddle again: and that the Prieſt may ride him, though it be to a Precipice. He therefore contents Himſelf with the Power that He hath inherited from his Royal Progenitors Kings and Queens of *England*, and as it is declared by Parliament: and is not to be trepann'd into another kind of Tenure of Dominion to be held at Mr. *Bayes* his pleaſure, and depend upon the ſtrength only of his Argument. But (that I may not offend in Latin too frequently) he conſiders that by not aſſuming a Deity to himſelf, he becomes ſecure and worthy of his Government. There are lightly

about

about the Courts of Princes a ſort of Projectors for Concealed Lands, to which they entitle the King, to begg them for themſelves: and yet generally them get not much by it, but are exceeding vexatious to the Subject. And even ſuch an one is this Mr. *Bayes* with his Project of a *Concealed Power*, that moſt Princes, as he ſaid, *have not yet rightly underſtood*; but whereof the King is ſo little enamour'd, that I am confident, were it not for prolling and moleſting the People, his Majeſty would give Mr. *Bayes* the Patent for it, and let him make his beſt on't, after he hath paid the Fees to my Lord-Keeper.

But one thing I muſt confeſs is very pleaſant, and he hath paſt an high Complement upon his Majeſty in it: that he may, if he pleaſe, reſerve the Prieſthood and the Exerciſe of it to himſelf. Now this indeed is ſurpriſing; but this onely troubles me, how his Majeſty would look in all the Sacerdotal habiliments, and the Pontifical Wardrobe. I am afraid the King would find himſelf incommoded with all that furniture upon

on his back, and would ſcarce reconcile himſelf to wear even the Lawn-ſleeves and the Surplice. But what? even *Charls the fifth*, as I have read, was at his Inauguration by the Pope, content to be veſted, according to the Romane Ceremonial, in the habit of a Deacon: and a man would not ſcruple too much the formality of the dreſs in order to Empire.

But one thing I doubt Mr. *Bayes* did not well conſider; that, if the King may diſcharge the Function of the Prieſthood, he may too (and 'tis all the reaſon in the world) aſſume the Revenue. It would be the beſt Subſidy that ever was voluntarily given by the Clergy. But truly otherwiſe, I do not ſee but that the King does lead a more unblamable Converſation, and takes more care of Souls than many of them, and underſtands their Office much better, and deſerves ſomething already for the pains he hath taken.

The next is *Publick Conſcience*. For as to mens private Conſciences he hath made them very inconſiderable, and;

reading

reading what he ſaith of them with ſome attention, I only found this new & important Diſcovery & great Priviledge of Chriſtian Liberty, that *Thoughts are free*. We are however obliged to him for that, ſeeing by conſequence we may think of him what we pleaſe. And this he ſaith a man may aſſert againſt all the Powers of the Earth: And indeed with much reaſon and to great purpoſe; ſeeing, as he alſo alledges, the Civil Power is ſo far from doing violence to that liberty, that it never can. But yet if the freedom of thoughts be in not lying open to diſcovery, there have been wayes of compelling men to diſcover them; or, if the freedom conſiſt in retaining their judgments when ſo manifeſted, that alſo hath been made penal. And I doubt not but beſide *Oaths* and *Renunciations*, and *Aſſents* and *Conſents*, Mr. *Bayes*, if he were ſearched, hath twenty other teſts and picklocks in his pocket. Would Mr. *Bayes* then perſwade men to aſſert this againſt all the Powers of the Earth? I would ask in what manner? To ſay the truth I do

not like him, and would wish the Nonconformists to be upon their guard, lest he trepan them first by this means into a Plot, and then peach, & so hang them: If Mr. *Bayes* meant otherwise in this matter, I confess my stupidity, and the fault is most his own who should have writ to the capacity of vulgar Readers. He cuts indeed and faulters in this discourse, which is no good sign, perswading men that they may, and ought to practise against their Consciences, where the Commands of the Magistrate intervenes. None of them denies that it is their duty, where their Judgements or Consciences cannot comply with what is injoyned, that they ought in obedience patiently to suffer; but further they have not learned. I dare say that the Casual Divinity of the Jesuites is all thorow as Orthodox as this Maxime of our Authors: and, as the Opinion is brutish, so the Consequences are devilish. To make it therefore go down more glibly, he saith, that *'tis better to err with Authority, than to be in the right against it*

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in all doubtful and disputable cases, because the great duty of Obedience outweighs the danger of a little error, (and little it is if it be disputable.) I cannot understand the truth of this reasoning; that whatsoever is disputable is little; for even the most important matters are subject to controversie: And besides, things are little or great according to the Eyes or Understandings of several men; and however, a man would suffer something rather than commit that little error against his Conscience, which must render him an Hypocrite to God, and a Knave amongst Men. *The Commands* (he saith) *and Determinations of the publick Conscience ought to carry it; and if there be any sin in the Command, be that imposed shall answer for it, and not I whose duty it is to obey*; (And mark) *the Commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin if not from error*; and so you are welcome Gentlemen. Truly a very fair and conscionable Reckoning! So far is this from hallowing the Action,

that I dare say it will, if followed home, lead only to all that *sanctified Villany*, for the invention of which we are beholden to the Author. But let him have the honour of it: for he is the first Divine that ever taught Christians how another man's sin could confer an *Imputative Righteousness* upon all Mankind that shall follow & comply with it. Though the Subject made me serious, yet I could not reade the expression without laughter: *My Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my Action.* So inconsiderable a difference he seems to make betwixt those terms, That if ever our Author come for his merits in election for to be a Bishop, a man might almost adventure instead of *Consecrated* to say that he was *Excused.*

The third is *Moral Grace.* And whoever is not satisfied with those passages of his concerning it, before quoted, may find enough where he discourseth it at large, even to surfeit. I cannot make either less or more of it than that he overturns the whole fabrick of Christianity, and Power of Religion.

For

For my part, if Grace be resolv'd into Morality, I think a man may almost as well make God too to be only a Notional and Moral Existence.

And white-apron'd *Amaryllis* was of that opinion:

Ma tu Sanctissima Honestà che sola sei
D' alma ben nata inviolabil Nume.

But thou most holy Honesty, that only art the inviolable Deity of the well-born Soul.

And so too was the Moral Poet: (for why may not I too bring out my Latin shreds as well as he his,

Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere versos)

Nullum Numen abest si sit Prudentia——

There is no need of a Deity where there is Prudence; or, if you will, where there is *Ecclesiastical Policy*.

But so far I must do Mr. *Bayes* right, that, to my best observation, if Prudence had been God, *Bayes*, had been a

moſt damnable Atheiſt. Or, perhaps only an Idolater of their number, concerning whom he adds in the next line

——*ſed te*
Nos facimus Fortuna Deam Cœloque locamus.
But we make thee Fortune a Goddeſs, and place thee in Heaven.

However I cannot but be ſorry that he hath undertaken this deſperate vocation, when there are twenty other honeſt and painful wayes wherein he might have got a *Living*, and made Fortune propitious. But he cares not upon what Argument or how dangerous he runns to ſhew his ambitious Activity: whereas thoſe that will dance upon Ropes, do lightly ſome time or other break their necks. And I have heard that even the *Turk*, every day he was to mount the High-Rope, took leave of his *Comfortable Importance* as if he ſhould never ſee her more. But this is a matter forreign to my Judicature, and therefore I leave him to be tryed by any Jury of Divines: and, that he may have all right done him, let half of

them

them be *School-Divines* and the other moity *Systematical*, and let him except against as many as the Law allows, and so God send him a good deliverance. But I am afraid he will never come off.

The fourth is *Debauchery tolerated*. For supposing, as he does, that 'tis better and *safer to give a Toleration to mens Debaucheries than to their Religious Persuasions*, it amounts to the same reckoning. This is a very ill way of discoursing; and that a *greater severity ought to be exercised over mens Consciences than over their Vices and Immoralities*. For it argues too much indiscretion, by avoiding one evil to run up into the contrary extream. And Debauch'd Persons will be ready hence to conclude, although it be a perverse way of reasoning, That where the Severity ought to be less, the Crime is less also: nay, even that the more they are debauch'd, it is just that the Punishment should still abate in proportion; but however, that it were very imprudent and unadvisable to reform and erre on

the Religious hand, leſt they ſhould thereby incur the greater penalties. Mr. *Bayes* would have done much better had he ſingled out the Theme of Religion. He might have loaded it with all the truth which that ſubject would bear; I would allow him that *Rebellion is as the ſin of Witch-craft*, though that text of Scripture will ſcarce admit his interpretation. He could not have declamed more ſharply than I, or any honeſt man elſe, would upon occaſion againſt all thoſe who under pretence of Conſcience raiſe War, or create publick Diſturbances. But Compariſons of Vice are dangerous, and though he ſhould do this without deſign, yet, while he aggravates upon Religion, and puts it in ballance, he doth ſo far alleviate and encourage Debauchery. And moreover (which to be ſure is againſt his deſign) he doth hereby more confirm the auſterer ſort of Sinners, and furniſhes them with a more ſpecious Colour and ſtronger Argument. It had been better Policy to inſtruct the Magiſtrate that there is no

readier

readier way to ſhame theſe our of their Religious Niceties than by improving Mens Morals. But, as he handles it, never was there any Point more unſeaſonably expoſed; at ſuch a time, when there is ſo general a depravation of Manners, that even thoſe who contribute towards it do yet complain of it; and though they cannot reform their practice, yet feel the effects, and tremble under the apprehenſion of the Conſequences. It were eaſie here to ſhew a man's reading, and to diſcourſe out of Hiſtory the cauſes of the decay and ruine of Mr. *Bayes* his *Roman Empire*, when-as the Moraliſt has it,

——ſævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, Victumque ulciſcitur Orbem.

And deſcending to thoſe Times ſince Chriſtianity was in the Throne, 'tis demonſtrable that for one War upon a Fanatical or Religious account, there have been an hundred occaſioned by the thirſt of Glory and Empire that hath inflamed ſome great Prince to invade his Neighbours. And more have

ſprung

ſprung from the Contentiouſneſs and Ambition of ſome of the Clergy; But the moſt of all from the Corruption of Manners, and alwayes fatal Debaucherry. It exhauſts the Eſtates of private perſons, and makes them fit for nothing but the High-way or an Army. It debaſes the ſpirits and weakens the vigor of any Nation; at once indiſpoſing them for War, and rendring them uncapable of Peace. For, if they eſcape inteſtine troubles, which would certainly follow when they had left themſelves by their prodigality or intemperance, no other means of ſubſiſtence but by preying upon one another; then muſt they either, to get a maintenance, pick a quarrel with ſome other Nation, wherein they are ſure to be worſted; or elſe (which more frequently happens) ſome neighbouring Prince that underſtands Government takes them at the advantage, and, if they do not like ripe Fruit fall into his lap, 'tis but ſhaking the Tree once or twice, and he is ſure of them. Where the Horſes are, like thoſe of the *Sybarites*, taught to dance,

dance, the Enemy need only learn the Tune and bring the Fiddles. But therefore (as far as I understand) his Majesty to obviate and prevent these inconveniencies in his Kingdoms, hath on the one hand never refused a just Warre; that so he might take down our Grease and Luxury, and keep the *English* Courage in breath and exercise: and on the other, (though himself most constantly addicted to the Church of *England*) hath thought fit to grant some liberty to all other Sober People, (and longer than they are so God forbid they should have it) thereby to give more temper and allay to the common and notorious Debauchery.

But Mr. *Bayes* nevertheless is for his fifth; *Persecution recommended*: and he does it to the purpose. *Julian* himself, who I think was first a Reader, and held forth in the Christian Churches before he turned Apostate and then Persecutor, could not have outdone him either in Irony or Cruelty. Only it is God's mercy that Mr. *Bayes* is not Emperour. You have seen how he inveighs

veighs againſt Trade: *That whilſt mens Conſciences are acted by ſuch peeviſh and ungovernable Principles, to erect Trading-Combinations is but to build ſo many Neſts of Faction and Sedition.* Lay up your Ships, my Maſters, ſet Bills on your Shop-doors, ſhut up the Cuſtom-houſe; and why not adjourn the Term, mure up *Weſtminſter*-hall, leave Plowing and Sowing, and keep a diſmal Holy-day through the Nation; for Mr. *Bayes* is out of humour. But I aſſure you it is no jeſting matter. For he hath in one place taken a Liſt of the Fanatick Miniſters, whom he reckons to be but about an hundred *Syſtematical Divines*: though I believe the *Bartlemew*-Regiſter or the *March*-Licences would make them about an hundred and three or an hundred and four, or ſo: But this is but for rounder number and breaks no ſquare. And then for their People, either *they live in greater Societies of men* (he means the City of *London* and the other Cities and Towns-Corporate, but expreſſes it ſo to prevent ſome inconvenience that might betide him)

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but there their noiſe is greater than their number. Or elſe in *Country Towns and Villages, where they ariſe not above the proportion of one to twenty.* It were not unwiſely done indeed if he could perſwade the Magiſtrate that all the Fanaticks have but one neck, ſo that he might cut off Nonconformity at one blow. I ſuppoſe the Nonconformiſts value themſelves tho upon their Conſcience and not their Numbers: but they would do well to be watchful, leſt he have taken a Liſt of their Names as well as their Number, and have ſet Croſſes upon all their Doors againſt there ſhould be occaſion. But till that *happy juncture*, when Mr. *Bayes ſhall be fully avenged of his new Enemies the wealthy Fanaticks* (which is ſoon done too, for he ſaith *there are but few of them men of Eſtates or Intereſt*) he is contented that they ſhould only be expoſed (they are his own expreſſions) to the *Pillories, Whipping-poſts, Galleys, Rods*, and *Axes*; and moreover and above, to all other Puniſhments whatſoever, provided they be of a ſeverer nature than

thoſe that are inflicted on men for their immoralities. O more then humane Clemency! I ſuppoſe the Diviſion betwixt Immoralities and Conſcience is univerſal, and whatſoever is wicked or penal is comprehended within their *Territories*. So that although a man ſhould be guilty of all thoſe heinous enormities which are not to be named among Chriſtians, beſide all leſſer Peccadillo's expreſly againſt the ten Commandments, or ſuch other part of the Divine Law as ſhall be of the Magiſtrates making, he ſhall be in a better condition and more gently handled, then a *well-meaning Zelot*: For this is the man that Mr. *Bayes* ſaith *is of all Villains the moſt dangerous*: (even more dangerous it ſeems then a malicious and ill-meaning Zelot) this is he whom in *all Kingdoms where Government is rightly underſtood*, he would have condemned *to the Galleys for his miſtakes and abuſes of Religion*. Although the other puniſhments are more ſevere, yet this being more new and unacquainted, I cannot paſs it by without ſome reflexi-

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on. For I conſidered what Princes make uſe of Gallyes. The firſt that occurred to me was the *Turk*, who according to *Bayes* his maxim, hath eſtabliſhed Mahometiſm among his ſubjects, as the *Religion that he apprehends moſt advantagious to publick peace and ſettlement.* Now in his Empire the Chriſtians onely are guilty of thoſe *Religious Miſtakes that tend to the ſubverſion of Mahometiſm*: So that he underſtands Government rightly in chaining the Chriſtians to the Oar. But then in Chriſtendom, all that I could think of were the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, the Knights of *Malta*, the *Pope*, and the reſt of the *Italian* Princes. And theſe all have bound their Subjects to the Romiſh Religion as moſt advantagious. But theſe people their Galleys, with Immoral Fellows and Debauchees: whereas the *Proteſtants*, being their Fanaticks and miſtakers in Religion, ſhould have been their *Cinrma*. But 'tis to be hoped theſe Princes will take advice and underſtand it better for the future. And then at laſt I re-

remembered that his Majeſty too hath one Gally lately built, but I dare ſay it is not with that intention; and our Fanaticks, though few, are ſo many, that one will not ſerve. But therefore if Mr. *Bayes* and his partners would be at the charge to build the King a whole Squadron for this uſe, I know not but it might do very well (for we delight in Novelties) and it would be a ſingular obligation to *Sir John Baptiſt Dutel*, who might have ſome pretence to be General of his Majeſties Gallies. But ſo much for that.

Yet in the mean time I cannot but admire at Mr. *Bayes* his courage, who knowing how dangerous a Villain a well-meaning Zelot is, and having calculated to a man how many of them there are in the whole Nation, yet dares thus openly ſtimulate the Magiſtrate againſt them, and talk of nothing leſs, but much more, than *Pillories*, *Whipping-Poſts*, *Galleys*, and *Axes* in this manner. It is ſure ſome ſign (and if he knew not ſo much he would ſcarce adventure) of the peaceableneſs of their Principles, and

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of that reſtraint under which their tender Conſciences hold them, when nevertheleſs he may walk night and day in ſafety; though it were ſo eaſie a thing to deifie the Divine after the antient manner, and no man be the wiſer. But that which I confeſs would vex me moſt, were I either an ill or a well-meaning Zealot, would be, after all to hear him (as he frequently does) ſneering at me in an ironical harangue, to perſwade me, forſooth, to take all patiently for Conſcience-ſake, and the good example of Man-kind: Nay, to wheedle one almoſt to make himſelf away to ſave the Hangman a labour. It was indeed near that paſs in the Primitive times, and the tyred Magiſtrates ask't them, whether they had not Halters, and Rivers, and Precipices, if they were ſo greedy of Suffering? But, by the good leave of your Inſolence, we are not come to that yet. *Non tibi ſed Petro*: or rather, *ſed Regi*. The Nonconformiſts have ſuffered as well as any men in the World, and could do ſo ſtill if it were his Majeſty's plea-

ſure. Their *Duty to God hath hallowed*, and their *Duty to the Magiſtrate hath excuſed* both their Pain and Ignominy. To dye by a Noble hand is ſome ſatisfaction: But when his Majeſty, for Reaſons beſt know to Himſelf, hath been graciouſly pleaſed to abate of your Rigors, I hope Mr. *Bays* that we ſhall not ſee when you have a mind to junket with your *Comfortable Importance* that the *Entremeſes* ſhall be of a Fanaticks Giblets: nor that a Nonconformiſts head muſt be wip'd off as oft as your noſe drivles. 'Tis ſufficient, Sir, we know your Inclination, we know your Abilities, and we know your Lodging: And when there is any further occaſion you will doubtleſs be ſent for. For, to ſay the truth, this *Bayes* is an excellent Tool, and more uſeful than ten other men. I will undertake that he ſhall rather then fail, be the Trepanner, the Informer, the Witneſs, the Atturney, the Judg; and, if the Nonconformiſt need the benefit of his Book, he ſhall be Ordinary too, and ſay he is *an ignorant fellow, non legit*: and then,

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to do him the laſt Chriſtian office, he would be his Hangman. In the mean time, let him enjoy it in ſpeculation, ſecure of all the Imployments when they ſhall fall. For I know no Gentleman that will take any of them out of his hands, although it be an age wherein men cannot well ſupport their quality, without ſome acceſſion from the publick: and for the ordinary ſort of People, they are I know not by what diſaſter beſotted and abandon'd to Fanaticiſm. So that Mr. *Bayes* muſt either do it himſelf in perſon, or conſtitute the cheif Magiſtrate to be his Deputy. But Princes do indeed underſtand themſelves better moſt of 'm, and do neither think it ſo ſafe to intruſt a Clergy-man with their Authority, nor decent for themſelves to do the drudgery of the Clergy. That would have paſt in the Dayes of Saint *Dominick*: but when even the Inquiſition hath loſt its edge in the Popiſh Countryes, there is little appearance it ſhould be ſet up in *England*. It were a worthy Spectacle, were it not? to ſee his Majeſty

like the Governor in *Syneſius*, buſied in his Cabinet among thoſe Engines whoſe very names are ſo hard that it is ſome torture to name them; the *Podoſtraba*, the *Dactylethrea*, the *Otagra*, the *Rhinolabides*, the *Cheiloſtrophia*, deviſing, as they ſay there are particular Diſeaſes, ſo a peculiar Rack for every Limb and Member of a Chriſtians Body. Or, would he (with all Reverence be it ſpoken) exchange his Kingdom of *England* for that of *Macaſſar*? where the great *Arcanum* of Government is the cultivating of a Garden of venimous Plants, and preparing thence a Poyſon, in which the Prince dips a Dart, that where it does but draw blood, rots the perſon immediatly to pieces; and his Office is with that to be the Executioner of his Subjects. God be prais'd his Majeſty is far of another temper: and he is wiſe, though ſome men be malicious.

But Mr. *Bayes* his ſixt, is that which I call his *Puſh-Pin Divinity*. For he would perſwade Princes that *there cannot a Pin be pull'd out of the Church but the*

the State immediatly totters. That is ſtrange. And yet I have ſeen many a Pin pull'd out upon occaſion, and yet not ſo much as the Church it ſelf hath wagg'd. It is true indeed, and we have had ſad experiments of it, that ſome Clergy-men have been ſo opiniaſtre that they have rather expoſed the State to ruine, than they would part with a Pin, I will not ſay out of their Church, but out of their Sleeve. There is nothing more natural than for the Ivy to be of opinion that the Oak cannot ſtand without its ſupport: or, ſeeing we are got into Ivy, that the Church cannot hold up longer than It underprops the Walls: whereas it is a ſneaking inſinuating Imp, ſcarce better than Bindweed, that ſucks the Tree dry, and moulders the building where it catches. But what, pray Mr. *Bayes*, is this Pinne in *Pallas*'s buckler? Why 'tis ſome Ceremony or other, that is *indifferent in its own nature*, that *hath no antecedent neceſſity*, but *only as commanded*, that *ſignifies nothing in it ſelf, but what the Commander pleaſes*, that even by the Church

which commands it, is *declared to have nothing of Religion in it, and that is in it ſelf of no great moment or conſequence, only it is abſolutely neceſſary that Governours ſhould enjoyn it to avoid the evils that would follow if it were not determined.* Very well, Mr. *Bayes*. This I ſee will keep cold: anon perhaps I may have a ſtomach. But I muſt take care leſt I ſwallow your Pin.

Here we have had the Titles, and ſome ſhort Rehearſal of Mr. *Bayes* his ſix Playes. Not but that, ſhould we diſvaliſe him, he hath to my knowledg a hundred more as good in his budget: but really I conſult mine own repoſe. But now among friends, was there ever any thing ſo monſtrous? You ſee what a man may come to with Divinity and High-feeding. There is a ſcurvy diſeaſe, which though ſome derive from *America*, others tell a ſtory that the *Genoueſes* in their Warrs with *Venice* took ſome of their Noblemen, whom they cut to pieces and barrel'd up like Tunny, and ſo maliciouſly vented it to the *Venetians*, who eating it ignorantly,

ly, broke out in thoſe naſty botches and ugly ſymptoms, that are not curable but by Mercury. What I relate it for is out of no further intention, nor is there any more ſimilitude than that the Mind too hath its Nodes ſometimes, and the Stile its Buboes, and that I doubt before Mr. *Bayes* can be rid of 'm, he muſt paſs through the Grand Cure and a dry Diet.

And now it is high time that I reſume the thread of my former Hiſtory concerning Mr. *Bayes* his Books in relation to his Majeſty. I do not find that the *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* found more acceptance than could be expected from ſo judicious a Prince: nor do I perceive that he was ever conſidered of at a Promotion of Biſhops, nor that he hath the reverſion of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*. But if he have not by Marriage barr'd his way; and it ſhould ever fall to his lot, I am reſolved inſtead of *his Grace* to call him alwayes *his Morality*. But as he got no Preferment that I know of at Court (though his Patron doubtleſs having many

things in his gift, did abundantly recompence him) ſo he miſt no leſs of his aim as to the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical-Government upon his Principles. But ſtill, what he complains of, pag. 20. *the Eccleſiaſtical Laws were either weakened through want of Execution, or in a manner cancell'd by the oppoſition of Civil Conſtitutions.* For, beſide what in *England*, where all things went on at the ſame rate, in the neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland* there where I know not how many *Mas Johns* reſtored in one day to the work of their Miniſtry, and a door opened whereby all the reſt might come in for the future, and all this by his Majeſty's Commiſſion. Nay, I think there was (a thing of very ill example) an Arch-Biſhop turn'd out of his See for ſome Miſdemeanor or other. I have not been curious after his name nor his crime, becauſe as much as poſſible I would not expoſe the nakedneſs of any perſon ſo eminent formerly in the Church. But henceforward the King fell into diſgrace with Mr. *Bayes*, and any one that had eyes might diſcern that

that our Author did not afford his Majeſty that Countenance and Favour which he had formerly enjoy'd. So that a Book too of *J. O.*'s happening miſchievouſly to come out at the ſame ſeaſon, Upon pretence of anſwering that, he reſolved to make his Majeſty feel the effects of his diſpleaſure. He therefore ſet pen to paper again, and having kept his Midwife of the *Friendly Debate* by him all the time of his pregnancy for fear of miſcarrying, he was at laſt happily delivered of his ſecond Child, the *Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, in the year 1671. It was a very luſty Baby, and twice as big as the former, and (which ſome obſerved as an ill ſign, and that if it lived it would prove a great Tyrant) it had, when born, all the Teeth, as perfect as ever you ſaw in any mans Head. But I do not reckon much upon thoſe ominous criticiſmes. For there was partly a natural cauſe in it, Mr. *Bayes* having gone ſo many months, more than the Civil Law allows for the utmoſt term of legitimation, that it was no wonder

der if the Brat were at its birth more forward than others uſually are. And indeed Mr. *Bayes* was ſo provident againſt abortion, & careful for ſome reaſons that the Child ſhould cry, that the only queſtion in Town (though without much cauſe, for truly 'twas very like him) was, whether it was not ſpurious or ſuppoſitious. But Allegories and Raillery and Hard Words apart: In this his ſecond Book, what I quoted before out of Biſhop *Bramhal*, p. 18. with alluſion to our Author, is here faln out as exactly true as if it had been expreſly calculated for *Bayes* his Meridian. He finds himſelf to have come too near, nay to have far outgone an *Eraſtian*, That he had writ his Eccleſiaſtical Policy before he was come to maturity of Judgment, that one might deſire Mr. *Bays* in Mr. *Bays*, that ſomething had been changed in his Book. That a more authentick Edition was neceſſary, that ſome things which he had ſaid before, were not his Judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters.

I will not herein too much inſiſt upon his Reply; where his Anſwerer asks him pertinently enough to his grand Theſis, what was then become of their old plea of *Jus Divinum*? Why, ſaith he, muſt you preſcribe me what I ſhall write? Perhaps my next Book ſhall be of that Subject. For, perhaps he ſaid ſo only for evaſion, being old excellent at parrying and fencing. Though I have good reaſon to believe that we may ſhortly ſee ſome Piece of his upon that Theme, and in defence of an Aphoriſm of a great Prelate in the laſt King's time, *That the King had no more to do in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, than Jack that rubb'd his Horſes heels.* For Mr. *Bayes* is ſo interpriſing you know, *Look too't, Ile doo't.* He has face enough to ſay or unſay any thing, and 'tis his priviledge, what the School-Divines deny to be even within the power of the Almighty, to make Contradictions true. An evidence of which (though I reſerve the further inſtances to another occaſion that draws near) does plainly appear in what I now principally urge, to

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ſhow how dangerous a thing it is for his Majeſty and all other Princes to loſe Mr. *Bayes* his favour. For whereas he had all along in his firſt Book treated them like a company of Ignorants, and that did not underſtand Government, (but that is pardonable in Mr. *Bayes*) in this his ſecond, now that they will not do as he would have them, when he had given them Power and Inſtructions how to be wiſer for the future, He caſts them quite off like men that were deſperate. He had, you know, p. 35. of his firſt Book and in other places, veſted them with an univerſal and unlimited Power, and uncontroulable in the Government of Religion (that is, over mens Conſciences) but now in his ſecond, to make them an example to all incorrigible and ungrateful perſons, he ſtrips and diſrobes them again of all thoſe Regal Ornaments that he had ſuperinduced upon them, and leaves them good Princes in *querpo* as he found 'm, to ſhift for themſelves in the wide World as well as they can. Do but read his own words, p. 237. of his *Defence*

fence, parag. 5. and ſure you will be of my mind. *To veſt the Supreme Magiſtrate in an unlimited and uncontroulable Power, is clearly to defeat the Efficacy and Obligatory force of all his Laws, that cannot poſſibly have any binding vertue upon the minds of men, when they have no other inducement to obedients but only to avoid the penalty. But of the Supream Power be abſolute and unlimited, it doth for that very reaſon remove and evacuate all other Obligations, for otherwiſe it is reſtrained and conditional; and if men lye under no other impulſion than of the Law it ſelf, they lye under no other obligation than that of prudence and ſelf-intereſt, and it remains intirely in the choice of their own diſcretion whether they ſhall or ſhall not obey, and then there is neither Government nor Obligation to obedience; and the Principle of mens Complyance with the mind of their Superiours, is not the declaration of their will and pleaſure, but purely the determination of their own judgments; and therefore 'tis neceſſary for the ſecurity of Government, though for nothing elſe, to ſet bounds to its juriſdiction; Otherwiſe, like the*

the Roman Empire, &c. I know it would be difficult to quote twenty lines in Mr. *Bayes* but we ſhould encounter with the *Roman Empire*. But obſerve how laborioufly here he hath aſſerted and proved that all he had ſaid in his firſt Book was a meer miſtake before he were come to years of diſcretion. For as in Law a Man is not accounted ſo till he hath compleated 21, and 'tis but the laſt minute of that time that makes him his own Man, (as to all things but Conſcience I mean, for as to that he ſaith men are never *ſui Juris*) ſo though the diſtance of *Bayes* his Books was but betwixt 1670 and 1671, yet a year, nay an inſtant at any time of a man's life may make him wiſer, and he hath, like all other fruits, his annual maturity. It was ſo long ſince as 1670 p. 33. that this *univerſal Unlimited and Uncontroulable Power was the natural right of Princes antecedent to Chriſt, firmly eſtabliſhed by the unalterable Dictates of Natural Reaſon, Univerſal Practice, and Conſent of Nations, that the Scripture rather ſuppoſes than aſſerts the Eccleſiaſti-*

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cal (and so the Civil) *Jurisdiction of Princes.* 'Twas in 1670, p. 10. That it was *absolutely necessary*; and p. 12. *that Princes have that power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantagious to Publick Peace, &c.* So that they derive their title from Eternal Necessity, which the Moralists say the Gods themselves cannot impeach. His Majesty may lay by his *Dieu* and make use onely of his *Mon Droit*: He hath a Patent for his Kingdom, under the Broad Seal of Nature, and next under that, and immediately *before* Christ, is over all Persons, and in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil (and over all mens Consciences) within his Majesty's Realms and Dominions Supream Head and Governour.

'Tis true, the Author sometimes for fashion-sake speaks in that Book of Religion and of a Deity, but his Principles do necessarily, if not in terms, make the Princes Power *Paramount* to both those, and if he may by his uncontroulable and unlimited universal Authority introduce what Religion he may of consequence

ſequence what Deity alſo he pleaſes. Or, if there were no Deity, yet there muſt be ſome Religion, that being an Engine moſt advantagious for Publick Peace and Tranquillity. This was in 1670. But by 1671. you ſee the caſe is altered. Even one night hath made ſome men gray. And now p. 238. of his ſecond Book, beſides what before, p. 237. he hath made Princes accountable, ay and to ſo ſevere an Auditor as God himſelf. *The Thrones of Princes are eſtabliſhed upon the Dominion of God.* And p. 241. *'Tis no part of the Princes concernment to inſtitute rules of Moral Good and Evil, that is the care and the Prerogative of a Superiour Law-giver.* And p. 260. He owns, that if the Subjects can plead a clean and undoubted preingagement to that higher Authority, they have a liberty to *remonſtrate* to the equity of their Laws. I do not like this Remonſtrating nor theſe Remonſtrants. I wiſh again that Mr. *Bayes* would tell us what he means by the term, and where it will end, whether he would have the Fanatick's remonſtrate: but they are wary, and aſham'd

ſhamed of what they have done in former times of that nature: or whether he himſelf hath a mind to remonſtrate, becauſe the Fanaticks are tolerated. That is the thing, that is the buſineſs of this whole Book: and knowing that there is a clear and undoubted preingagement to the higher Authority of Nature and neceſſity, if the King will perſiſt in tolerating theſe people, who knows after remonſtrating, what Mr. *Bayes* will doe next? But now in ſum what ſhall we ſay of this man, and how had the King been ſerved if he had followed *Baye's* adviſe, and aſſumed the power of his firſt Book? He had run himſelf into a fine *Premunire*, when now after all he comes to be made accountable to God, nay even to his Subjects. And by this means it happens, though it were beyond Mr. *Bayes* his forecaſt, and I dare ſay he would rather have given the Prince again a power antecedent to Chriſt, and to bring in what Religion he pleaſe; he hath obliged him to as tender a Conſcience as any of his Chriſtian ſubjects, and then good-

night to *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*. I have herein indeavoured the utmoſt ingenuity toward Mr. *Bayer*, for he hath laid himſelf open but to too many diſadvantages already, ſo that I need not, I would not preſs him beyond meaſure, but to my beſt underſtanding, and if I faile I even ask him pardon, I do him right. 'Tis true, that being diſtracted betwixt his deſire that the Conſciences of men ſhould be perſecuted, and his anger at Princes that will not be adviſed, he confounds himſelf every where in his reaſonings, that you can hardly diſtinguiſh which is the *Whoop* and which is the *Holla*, and he makes Indentures on each ſide of the way wherefoever he goes. But no man that is ſober will follow him, leſt ſom Juſtice of Peace ſhould make him pay his five ſhillings, beſides the ſcandal; and it is apparent to every one what he drives at. But were this otherwiſe, I can ſpare it, and 'tis ſufficient to my purpoſe that I do thus hiſtorically deduce the reaſon of his ſetting forth his Books, and ſhew that it was plainly to *remonſtrate*

strate against the power of his Prince, and the measures that he hath taken of governing; to set his Majesty at variance not only with his Subjects, but with himself, & to raise a Civil-war in his *Intellectual Kingdom*, betwixt his controulable & his uncontroulable Jurisdiction.

And because, having to do with a wise man, as Mr. *Bayes* is, one may often gather more of his mind out of a word that drops casually, than out of his whole watchful and serious discourse, when he is talking of matters of Policy and that require caution; I cannot slight one passage of Mr. *Bayes*, page 656. Where raging bitterly against all the Presbyterians and other Sects, and as much against the allowing them any Tenderness, Liberty, Toleration or Indulgence, he concludes thus, *Tenderness & Indulgence to such men, were to nourish Vipers in our own Bowels, & the most sottish neglect of our own quiet & security, and we should deserve to perish with the dishonour of Sardanapalus.* Now this of *Sardanapalus* I remember some little thing ever since

I read, I think it was my *Juſtine*; and I would not willingly be ſuch a Fool as to make a dangerous Similitude that has no foundation. For if Mr. *Bayes* in the Preface of his *Defence*, to excuſe his long teeming before it were brought forth, places it partly upon his recreations: I know not why much more a Prince ſhould not *be willing to enjoy the innocent comforts of this life, as well as to do the common drugeries.* But I am thinking what Mr. *Bayes* meant by it; for every Similitude muſt have, though not all, yet ſome likeneſs: Now I am ſure there were no Nonconformiſts and Presbyterians in *Sardanapalus* his dayes, I am ſure alſo that *Sardanapalus* was no Clergyman, that he was no ſubject; but he was one of the *Uncontroulable* Creatures, that inſtead of exerciſing his Eccleſiaſtical Power delighted in ſpinning; till ſome body come in on the ſudden, and catching him at it, cut his thred. Come 'tis better we left this Argument and the Company too, for you ſee the Crime, you ſee the Sentence: and who ever

it be, there is ſome Prince or other whom Mr. *Bayes* will have to periſh. That p. 641. is indeed not ſo ſevere, but 'tis prety well; where, on the ſame kind of Subject, whetting the Prince againſt thoſe People, he ſaith, *That Prince that hath felt the pounces of theſe ravening Vultures, if after that he ſhall be perſwaded to regard their fair ſpeeches at ſuch time as they want power, without other evident and unqueſtionable tokens of their converſation, deſerves to be King of the Night.* Now for this matter, I believe Mr. *Bayes* knows that his Majeſty hath received ſuch evident & unqueſtionable tokens of Loyalty from the Nonconformiſts; otherwiſe his own Loyalty would have hindred him from daring to uſe that expreſſion.

And now I ſhould continue my Hiſtory to his third *Book* in hand, the Preface to *Biſhop Brambal*. But having his ſecond *Book* ſtil before me, I could not but look a little further into it, to ſee how he hath left matters ſtanding betwixt himſelf and his Anſwerer. And firſt I lighted on that place where he

ſtrives to diſintangle himſelf from what he had ſaid about Trade in his former Book. Here therefore he defies the whole Fanatick world to diſcover one Syllable that tends to its diſcouragement. Let us put it upon that iſſue, and by this one example take the pattern of his ingenuity in all his other conteſts. *Whoop* Mr. *Bayes*, pag 49. *with what conſcience does the Anſwerer tell the people that I have repreſented all Tradeſmen as ſeditious, when 'tis ſo notorious I only ſuppoſe that ſome of them may be tainted with Seditious Principles? If I ſhould affirm that when the Nobility or Clergy are poſſeſt with Principles that incline to Rebellion and diſloyal practices, they are of all Rebels the moſt dangerous, ſhould I be thought to impeach them of Treaſon and Rebellion?* Holla Mr. *Bayes!* But in the 49th page of your firſt Book you ſay expreſly, *For 'tis notorious that there is not any ſort of people ſo inclinable to Seditious Practices as the Trading part of a Nation.* Is this the ſame thing now? and how does this Defence take off the Objection? And yet he tears and inſults

and

and declaims as if he had the Truth on his side? At last he strives to bring himself off and salve the matter in the same page 49. With, *In brief it is not the rich Citizen, but the wealthy Fanatick that I have branded for an ungovernable Beast, and that not as Wealthy but as Fanatick.* Subtle Distinguisher! I see if we give him but Rope enough what he will come to. Mr. *Bayes*, many as proper a man as your self hath march'd up *Holborn* for distinguishing betwixt the Wealth and the Fanatick: and moreover let me tell you, Fanatick Money hath no Ear-mark.

So concerning the Magistrates power in Religion, wherein his Answerer had remark'd some unsafe passages: *Whoop* Mr. *Bayes!* P. 12. of his first Book before quoted: *Unless Princes have power to bind their Subjects to what Religion they apprehend most advantagious, &c. they are no better than Statues of Authority. Holla Bayes.* Pag. 467. of the second Book: *This bold Calumny I have already I hope competently enough discovered & detested. Yet he repeats this*

Fundamental Forgery in all places, ſo that his whole Book is but one huge Lye 400 pages long. Judge now who is the Forger; And yet he roars too here as if he would mix Heaven and Earth together. But you may ſpare your raving, you will never claw it off as long as your name is *Bayes.*

So his Anſwerer it ſeemes having p. 85. ſaid, that *Bayes* confines the whole Duty of Conſcience to the inward thoughts and perſwaſions of the mind, over which the Magiſtrate hath no power at all: *Whoop Bayes* page 89. of his firſt Book, *Let all matters of mere Conſcience, whether purely moral or religious, be ſubject to Conſcience only, i.e. Let men think of things according to their own perſwaſions, and aſſert the Freedom of their Judgments againſt all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Prerogative of the mind of man within its own Dominions, its Kingdom is intellectual,* &c. P. 91. *Liberty of Conſcience is internal and inviſible, and confined to the minds and judgments of men; and while Conſcience acts within its proper ſphere,*

the Civil

Civil power it ſo far from doing it Violence, that it never can. Holla Bayes. p. 229. of his Second Book, *This in down right Engliſh is a ſhameleſs Lye. Sir, you muſt pardon my rudeneſs, for I will aſſure you, after long Meditation, I could not deviſe a more pertinent anſwer to ſo bold an one as this.* I believe you Mr. *Bayes*: you meditated long, ſome twelve months at leaſt; and you could not deviſe any other anſwer, and in good earneſt he hath not attempted to give any other anſwer. *I confeſs 'tis no extraordinary Conceit, but 'tis the beſt Repartee my barren Fancy was able to ſuggeſt to me upon ſo rude an occaſion.* Well Mr. *Bayes*! I ſee it muſt come to a quarrel; for thus the Hectors uſe to do, and to give the Lye at adventure, when they have a mind to try a mans Courage. But I have often known them dye on the ſpot.

So his Anſwerer *p.* 134. having taxed him for his ſpeaking againſt an expreſſion in the Act of Parliament of 5*to Eliz.* concerning the Wedneſday Faſt. *Whoop, Bayes, pag.* 59. of his firſt

first Book. *The Act for the Wednesday Fast the Jejunium Cecilianum* (our Ecclesiastical Politician is the better States-man of the two by far, and may make sport with *Cecil* when he pleases) *was injoynd with this clause of Exception, That if any person should affirm it to be imposed with an intention to bind the Conscience, he should be punished as spreader of false News.* So careful was the supreme Magistrate in those dayes not to impose upon the Conscience; and the Wisdom of it is confirmed by the experience of our time: When so eminent a Divine, as I mentioned before, thought fit to write a whole Volumne concerning the Holiness of LENT; though, if I be not deceived, this Doctrine too is prohibited by Act of Parliament, under the same Penalty. But, saith *Bayes* there, *The matter indeed of this Law was not of any great moment, but this Declaration annexed to it proved of a fatal and mischievous Consequence.* 'Tis very well worth reading at large: but in short the Consequence (or the occasion 'tis no mat-

matter when I have to do with *Bayes*) was, that "*Princes how peremptory* "*soever they have been in asserting* "*the Rights of their Supreme Pow-* "*rer, in Civil Affairs, they have* "*been forced to seem modest and dif-* "*fident in the exercise of their Ex-* "*clesiastical Supremacy.* Now, *Holla, Bayes.* p. 298. of his Second Book. "*To what purpose does he so briskly* "*taunt me for thawrting mine own* "*principles, because I have censu-* "*red the impertinency of a needless* "*Provision in an Act of Parliament?* Observe, these are not the Answerers but *Bayes* his own Words; whereby you may see with what Reverence and Duty he uses to speak of his Superiours and their Actions, when they are not so happy as to please him. "*I may* "*obey the Law, though I may be of a* "*different Perswasion from the Law-* "*givers in an Opinion remote and* "*impertinent to the matter of the Law* "*it self: nay, I may condemne the* "*wisdom of enacting it, and yet at the* "*same time think my self to lie under*

"*an*

"*an indispensable Obligation to obey*
"*it: for the formal reason of its ob-*
"*ligatory power (as any Casuist will*
"*inform him) is not the Judgment and*
"*Opinion of the Law-giver, but the*
"*Declaration of his Will and Pleasure.*
Very good and sound Mr. *Bayes*: but here you have opened a passage; and this is as impertinent in you and more dangerous than what you blamed in that Act, that the Nonconformists may speak against your Ecclesiastical Laws; for their Casuists then tell them that, they lying under an indispensable obligation not to conform to some of them, do fulfil and satisfie their Obedience in submitting to the penalty.

I looked further into what he saith in defence of the Magistrates assuming the Priesthood; what for his Scheme of moral Grace; what to palliate his irreverent expressions concerning our Blessed Saviour and the Holy Spirit; what of all other matters objected by his Answerer: and if you will believe me; but I had much rather the Reader

der would take the pains to examine all himſelf, there is ſcarce any thing but ſlender trifling unworthy of a Logician, and beaſtly railing unbecoming any man, much more a Divine. At laſt, having read it all through with ſome attention, I reſolved, having failed ſo of any thing material, to try my fortune whether it might be more lucky, and to open the Book in ſeveral places as it chanced. But, whereas they ſay that in the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, whereſoever you light you will find ſomthing that will hit and is proper to your intention; on the contrary here, there was not any leaf that I met with but had ſomething impertinent, ſo that I reſolved to give it over. This only I obſerved upon the whole, that he does treat his Anſwerer the moſt ingratefully that ever man did. For, whereas in his whole firſt Book there was not one ſound Principle, and, ſcarce any thing in his ſecond, but what the Anſwerer had given him occaſion to amend and rectifie if he had underſtanding; after ſo great an obligation he handles him

with

with more rudeneſs than is imaginable. I know it may be ſaid in Mr. *Bayes* his defence, that in this his ſecond Book he hath made his matters in many places much worſe then they were before. But I ſay that was *Bayes* his want of underſtanding, and that he knew not how to take hold of ſo charitable an opportunity as was offered him, and 'twas none of the Anſwerers fault. Ther are amongſt men ſome that do not ſtudy alwayes the true Rules of Wiſdom and Honeſty, but delight in a perverſe kind of Cunning, which ſomtimes may take for a while & attain their deſign, but moſt uſually it fails in the end & hath a foul farewel. And ſuch are all Mr. *Bayes* his Plots. In all his Writings he doth ſo confound terms, he leaps croſs, he hath more doubles (nay triples and quadruples) than any Hare, ſo that he thinks himſelf ſecure of the Hunters. And in this ſecond Book, even the length of it was ſome Policy. For you muſt know it is all but an Epiſtle to the Author of the *Friendly Debate*; and thought he with himſelf, who

hath

hath so much leisure from his own affairs that he will read a Letter of another mans business of eight hundred pages? But yet, thought he again, (and I could be content they did read it) in all matters of Argument I will so muddle my self in Ink, that there shall be no catching no finding me; and besides I will speak always with so Magisterial a Confidence, that no modest man (and most ingenious persons are so) shall so much as quetch at me, but be beat out of Countenance: and plain men shall think that I dust not talk at such a rate but that I have a Commission. I will first, said he in his heart, like a stout Vagrant, beg, and, if that will not do, I will command the Question; and as soon as I have got it I will so alter the property and put on a nother Periweg, that I defie them all for discovering me or ever finding it again. This, beside all the lock and advantage that I have the Nonconformists upon since the late times; and though they were born since, and have taken more sober Principles, it shall be all one for

that

that matter. And then for Oratory and Railing, let *Bayes* alone. This contrivance is indeed all the ſtrength of Mr. *Bayes* his Argument, and, as he ſaid, (how properly let the Reader judge) *p.* 69. before quoted, *that Moral Virtue is not onely the moſt material and uſeful part of all Religion, but the ultimate end of all its other Duties:* So, Railing is not onely the moſt material and uſeful part of his Religion, his Reaſon, his Oratory, and his Practiſe; but the ultimate end of this and all his other Books. Otherwiſe he is neither ſo ſtrongly fortified nor ſo well guarded, but that without any Ceremony of Trenches or Approaches, you may at the very firſt march up to his Counters-ſcrap without danger. He puts me in minde of the incorrigible Scold, that though ſhe was duck'd over head and ears under water, yet ſtretched up her hands with her two Thumb-nails in the Nit-cracking poſture, or with two fingers divaricated, to call the man ſtill in that Language Louſy Raſcal and Cuckold. But indeed

deed, when I consider how miserable a Wretch his Answerer has rendred him, and yet how he persists still, and more to rail and revile him; I can liken it to nothing better betwixt them, than to what I have seen with some pleasure the Hawking at the Mag-py. The poor bird understands very well the terrible pounces of that Vulture: but therefore she chatters amain most rufully, and spreads and cocks her tail, so that one that first saw and heard the sport would think that she insulted over the Hawk in that chatter, and she huff'd her train in token of Courage and Victory: when, alas, 'tis her fear all, and another way of crying the Hawk mercy, and to the end that the Hawk finding nothing but tail and feather to strike at she may so perhaps shelter her body.

Therefore I think there is nothing in my way that hinders me, but that I may now go on to the History of this Mr. *Bayes* his Third Book, the Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*, and to what *Juncture of Affairs* it was reconciled. His

Majesty (perhaps upon Mr. *Bayes* his frequent Admonitions both in his first and second Book, that Princes should be more attentive and confident in exercising their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, though, I rather believe, he never deign'd to read a Line in him, but what he did herein, was onely the result of his own good understanding) resolved to make some clear tryal how the Nonconformists could bear themselves under some Liberty of Conscience. And accordingly he issued on *March* the 15th 1671. His Gracious *Declaration of Indulgence*, of which I wish His Majesty and the Kingdom much joy, and, as far as my slender judgement can divine, dare augurate and presage mutual Felicity, and that what ever humane Accident may happen (I fear not what *Bayes* fore-sees) they will, they can never have cause to repent this Action or its Consequences. But hereupon *Bayes* finding that the King had so vigorously exerted his Ecclesiastical Power, but to a purpose quite contrary to what

Mr.

Mr. *Bayes* had always intended, he grew terribly angry at the King and his Privy Council: So that hereupon *he started*, as himself sayes, *into many warm and glowing Meditations: his heart burnt and the fire kindled, and that heated him into all this wild and rambling talk (as some will be forward enough to call it) though he hopes it is not altogether idle, and whether it be or be not, he hath now neither leisure nor patience to examine.*

This he confesses upon his best recollection, in the last page of this preface: whereupon I cannot but animadvert, as in my first page, that this too lies open to his *Dilemma* against the Nonconformists Prayers: For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modesty is all impudent and counterfeit: If he does acknowledge it, he is an hot-headed Incendiary; and a wild rambling talker, and in part, if not altogether, an idle Fellow. Really I cannot but pity him, and look upon him as under some great disturbance of mind: that this with other scattering passages

here and there, argues him to be in as ill a case as *Tiberius* was in his distracted Letter to the Senate: There wants nothing of it but the *Dii Deæque me perdant* wishing, Let the Gods and the Goddesses confound him worse than he finds himself to be every day confounded. But that I may not lose my thred. Upon occasion of this his Majesties Gracious Declaration, and against it, he writes this his third Book the *Preface to Bishop Bramhall*, and accordingly was unhappily delivered of it in *June* (I have forgot) or *July*, in 1672. For he did not goe his full time of it, but miscarried; partly by a new fright from *J. O.* and partly by a fall he had upon a *Closer Importance*. But of all his three Bolts this was the soonest shot, and therefore 'tis no wonder if he miss'd his mark, and took no care where his Arrow glanced. But what he saith of his Majesty and his Council, being toward the latter end of his Discourse, I am forced to defer that a little, because, there being no method at all in his wild rambling talk;

talk; I muſt either tread juſt on in his footſteps, or elſe I ſhall be in a perpetual maze, and never know when I am come to my journeys end.

And here I cannot altogether eſcape the mentioning of *J. O.* again, whom (though I have ſhown that he was not the main cauſe of publiſhing *Bayes* his Books) yet he ſingles out, and on his pretence runs down all the Nonconformiſts; this being, as he imagined, the ſafeſt way by which he might proceed firſt to undermine, and then blow up his Majeſties gracious Declaration. And this indeed is the leaſt immethodical part of the whole Diſcourſe. For firſt he undertakes to defend, that Railing is not onely lawful, but expedient. Secondly, that though he had Railed, the perſon he ſpoke of ought not to have taken notice of it. And Thirdly, that he did not Rail. As to theſe things I do not much trouble my ſelf, nor intereſt my ſelf in the leaſt in *J. O.*'s Quarrel: no otherwiſe than if he were *John a Nokes* and I heard him rail'd at by *John a Styles*: Nor yet

would I concern my ſelf unneceſſarily in any mans behalf; Knowing that 'tis better being at the beginning of a Feaſt, than to come in at the latter end of a Fray. For if ſo I ſhould, as often it happens in ſuch Rencounters, not onely draw Mr. *Bayes*, but *J. O.* too upon my back, I ſhould have made a ſweet buſineſs on't for my ſelf.

Now as to the Lawfulneſs and Expedience of Railing; were it not that I do really make Conſcience of uſing Scripture with ſuch a drolling Companion as Mr. *Bayes*, I could overload him thence both with Authority and Example. Nor is it worth ones while to teach him out of other Authors, and the beſt precedents of the kind, how he, being a Chriſtian and a Divine, ought to have carried himſelf. But I cannot but remark his Inſolence and how bold he makes upon this Argument, p. 88. of his Second Book, with the Memories of thoſe great Perſons there enumerated, ſeveral of whom, and particularly my Lord *Verulam*, I could quote to his confuſion, upon a contrary

trary and much better Account. *So far am I from repenting my ſeverity towards them, that I am tempted rather to applaud it by the glorious Examples of the greateſt Wits of our Nation, King James, Arch-Biſhop Whitgift, Arch-Biſhop Bancroft, Biſhop Andrews, Biſhop Bilſon, Biſhop Mountegue, Biſhop Bramhall, Sir Walter Rawleigh, Lord Bacon, &c.* and he might have added Mr. *Tarlton* with as good pretence to his Honour as himſelf. The *Niches* are yet empty in the Old Exchange; pray let us ſpeak to the Statuary that next to King *James*'s we may have *Bayes* his Effigies. For ſuch great Wits are Princes Fellows, at leaſt when dead. At this rate there is nōt a Scold at *Billinſ-gate* but may defend her ſelf by the patern of King *James* and *Arch-Biſhop Whitgift*, &c. Yet this is paſſable, if you conſider our man. But that is moſt intolerable p. 17. of the preface to his firſt Book, where he juſtifies his debauched way of writing by paralel to our Bleſſed Saviour. And I cannot but with ſome aw reflect how near the puniſhment was to

the offence; when having undertaken so profane an Argument, he was in the very instant so infatuated as to say that Christ was not onely *in an hot fit of Zeal, but in a seeming Fury too, and transport of Passion.* But however, seeing he hath brought us so good Vouchers, let us suppose what is not to be suppos'd, that Railing is lawful. Whether it be expedient or no, will yet be a new question. And I think Mr. *Bayes*, when he hath had time *to cool his thoughts*, may be trusted yet with that consideration and to compute whether the good that he hath done by Railing do countervail the damage which both he in particular and the Cause he labours, have suffered by it. For in my observation, if we meet with an Argument in the Streets, both Men, Women and Boys, that are the Auditory, do usually give it on the modester side, and conclude, that she that rails most has the least reason.

For the second, Where he would prove that though he had railed, yet his Answerer *J. O.* ought not to have taken

taken notice of it, nor those of the Party who are under the same condemnation, but that he should have abstracted and kept close to the Argument, I must confess it is a very secure and wholsom way of railing. And allowing this, he had good reason to find fault with his Answerer, as he does, for turning over his Book, though without turning it over, I know not how he could have answered him, but with his *Hat*, or with *Mum*. But for ought I can see in that onely answer which is to his first Book, he hath been obedient and abstracted the Argument sufficiently; and if he hath been any where severe upon him, he hath done it more cleanly and much more like a Gentleman, and it hath been onely in showing the necessary inferences that must follow upon the Authors Maximes, and unsound principles. But as to any answer to *Bayes* his second Book or this third, for ought I can see *J. O.* sleeps upon both ears.

To this third undertaking, to show that he hath not rail'd; I shall not say

ſay any thing more, but let it be judged by the Company, and to them let it be refer'd. But in my poor opinion I never ſaw a man thorow all his three Books in ſo high a Salivation.

And therefore, till I meet with ſomething more ſerious, I will take a walk in the Garden and gather ſome of Mr. *Bayes* his Flowers. Or I might more properly have ſaid I will go ſee *Bedlam*, and pick ſtraws with our Mad-man. Firſt he ſaith, that ſome that pretend a great intereſt in the holy Brotherhood, upon every ſlight accident are beating up the Drums againſt the Pope and Popiſh Plots; they deſcry Popery in every common and uſual Chance, and a Chimney cannot take fire in the City or Suburbs but they are immediately crying Jeſuites and Firebals. I underſtand you, Sir. This, Mr. *Bayes*, is your Prologue, that is to be ſpoke by *Thunder* and *Lightning*. *I am loud Thunder, briſk Lightning I. I ſtrike men down. I fire the Town——Look too't. Wee'l do't.* Mr. *Bayes*, it is ſomething dangerous medling with thoſe matters. As inno-

cent

cent perſons as your ſelf, have felt the fury of the wild multitude, when ſuch a Calamity hath diſordered them. And after your late Severity againſt Tradeſmen, it had been better you had not touched the fire. Take heed leſt the Reaſons which ſparkle, forſooth, in your diſcourſe hath not ſet their Chimneys on fire. None accuſes you, what you make ſport with, of burning the Ships at *Chatham*, much leſs of blowing up the *Thames*. But you ought to be careful, leſt having ſo newly diſtinguiſhed betwixt the Fanatick and his Wealth, they ſhould ſay, That you are diſtinguiſhing now betwixt the Fanaticks and their Houſes. Theſe things are too edged to be jeſted with: if you did but conſider that not onely the *Holy Brotherhood*, but the *Sober and intelligent Citizens* are equally involved in theſe ſad Accidents. And in that lamentable Conflagration (which was ſo terrible that though ſo many years ago, it is yet freſh in mens memories, and beſides, is yearly by Act of *Parliament*,

ment obſerved with due Humiliation and Solemnity.) It was not Trade onely and Merchandiſe ſuffered, which you call their *Diana*, and was not ſo much to be conſidered; but Saint *Paul* too was burnt, which the Hiſtorians tell us was *Diana*'s Temple.

The next thing was more directly levell'd at *J. O.* for having in ſome later Book uſed thoſe words, *We cannot conform to Arminianiſm or Socinianiſm on the one hand, or Popery on the other.* What the Anſwerer meant by thoſe words, I concern not my ſelf. Onely I cannot but ſay, That there is a very great neglect ſomewhere, whereſoever the Inſpection of Books is lodged, that at leaſt the *Socinian* Books are tolerated and ſell as openly as the Bible. But *Bayes* turns all into Mirth; *He might as well have added all the iſms in the Old Teſtament, Perizzitiſm, Hivitiſm, Hittitiſm, Jebuzitiſm*, &c.

No, Mr. *Bayes*, that need not; and though this indeed is a very pretty Conceit, and 'twere pity it ſhould have

have been loſt; yet I can tell you a better way. For, if rhiming be the buſineſs, and you are alſo good at *tagging of points in a Garret*, there is another word that will do it better, and for which, I know not how truly, you tax your Anſwerer too here, as if he ſaid, *The Church of England were deſperately Schiſmatical, becauſe the Independents are reſolved one and all, to continue ſeperate from her Communion.* Therefore let *Schiſm*, if you pleaſe, rhime to *iſm*. And though no man is obliged to produce the Authority of the greateſt Wits of the Nation to juſtify a Rhime, yet for your *dear ſake*, Mr. *Bayes*, I will this once ſupererogate. The firſt ſhall be your good friend Biſhop *Bramhall*, who among many other memorable Paſſages, which I believe were the reaſon that he never thought fit to print his own book; p. 101. teaches us, not abſurdly, that *It was not the erroneous, Opinions of the Church of Rome, but the obtruding them by Laws upon other Churches, which warranted a Separation.* But if this will

will not doe, *Vous avez* Doctor *Thorndikes* Depoſition in print, for he, I hear, is lately dead. *The Church of* England *in ſeparating from the Church of* Rome, *is guilty of Schiſm before God.* I have not the Book by me, but I am ſure 'tis candidly recited as I have read it. Then (to ſhow too that there is a King on this ſide) his preſent Majeſty's Father in his Declaration *4to Caroli*, 1628. Affirms that a Book, entituled, *Appello Cæſarem* or *an Appeal to Cæſar*, and *published in the year* 1625. *by Richard Mountague then Batchelor of Divinity, and now Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *had opened the way to thoſe Schiſms and Diviſions which have ſince enſued in the Church, and that therefore for the Redreſs and remedy thereof, and for the ſatisfaction of the Conſciences of his good People, he had not onely by publick Proclamation called in that Book, which miniſtred matter of Offence, but to prevent the like Danger for the future, reprinted the Articles of Religion, eſtabliſhed in the time of Queen* Elizabeth *of Famous Memory: and by a Declaration, before thoſe Articles, did re-*

ſtrain

ſtrain all Opinions to the Senſe of thoſe Arti-cles, that nothing might be left for private Fancies and Innovations, &c. And if this will not amount fully, I ſhall conclude with a Villanous *Pamphlet* that I met with t'other day; but of which a *great Wit* indeed was the Author. And, wher as Mr. *Bayes* is always defying the Non-conformiſts with Mr. *Hookers Eccleſiaſti-cal Polity*, and the *Friendly Debate*; I am of opinion, though I have a great Re-verence for Mr. *Hooker*, who in ſome things did anſwer himſelf. That this little Book, of not full eight leaves, hath ſhut that *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and Mr. *Bayes*'s too out of doors: But for the *Friendly Debate*, I muſt confeſs, that it is unanſwerable. 'Tis one Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*, a moſt learned Divine, and one of the Church of *England*, and moſt re-markable for his Sufferings in the late times, and his Chriſtian patience under them. And I reckon it not one of the leaſt Ignominies of that Age, that ſo eminent a Perſon ſhould by the Iniquity of the times reduced to thoſe neceſſities under which he lived; as I account it

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no ſmall honour to have grown up into ſome part of his Acquaintance, and converſ'd a while with the living *remains* of one of the cleareſt heads and beſt prepared breſts in Chriſtendom. That which I ſpeak of is his little *Treatiſe of Schiſm*, which though I have read many years ago, was quite out of my mind till I occaſionally light upon't at a Book-ſeller's ſtall. I hope it will not be tedious, though I write of ſome few (and yet whatſoever I omit, I ſhall have left behind more) material paſſages.

"Schiſm is one of thoſe Theolo-
"gical Scare-crows with which they
"who uſe to uphold a party in Reli-
"gion, uſe to fright away ſuch, as
"making inquiry into it are ready
"to relinquiſh and oppoſe it, if
"it appear either erroneous or ſuſ-
"pitious. Schiſm is, if we ſhould
"define it, an unneceſſary ſeparati-
"on of Chriſtians from that part of the
"Viſible Church of which they were
"once Members. Some reverencing An-
"tiquity more than needs, have ſuffered
"them

"themſelves to be ſcared with imputa-
"tion of Schiſm more than needs.

"Nothing abſolves men from the
"guilt of Schiſm, but true and un-
"pretended Conſcience. But the
"Judgements of the Ancients ma-
"ny times (to ſpeak moſt gently)
"are juſtly to be ſuſpected. Where
"the Cauſe of Schiſm is neceſſary,
"there not he that ſeparates, but he
"that is the cauſe of Separation is the
"Schiſmatick.

"Where the occaſion of Sepa-
"ration is unneceſſary, neither
"ſide can be excuſed from guilt of
"Schiſm. But who ſhall be the Judg?
"That is a point of great difficulty,
"becauſe it carries fire in the Tail of
"it: for it brings with it a piece of
"Doctrine which is ſeldom pleaſing to
"Superiours. You ſhall find that all
"Schiſms have crept into the Church
"by one of theſe three ways, either
"upon matter of Fact, or upon mat-
"ter of Opinion, or point of Ambi-
"tion. For the firſt, I call that mat-
"ter of Fact, when ſomething is re-

"quired to be done by us, which either "we know or ſtrongly ſuſpect to be "unlawful. Where he inſtances in the old great Controverſie about EASTER, "For it being upon error taken for neceſſary that an Eaſter "muſt be kept, and upon worſe than "error (for it was no leſs than a "point of Judaiſm forc'd upon the "Church) thought further neceſſary "that the ground of the time for the "Feaſt, muſt be the Rule left by *Moſes* "to the Jews: there aroſe a ſtout Que-"ſtion, Whether 'twas to be celebra-"ted with the Jews on the fourteenth "Moon, or on the Sunday following. "This cauſed as great a Combuſtion "as ever was; the Weſt ſeparating "and refuſing Communion with the "Eaſt for many years together. Here "I cannot ſee but all the World were "Schiſmaticks, excepting onely that "we charitably ſuppoſe to excuſe "them from it, that all parties did "what they did out of Conſcience. "A thing which befell them by the "ignorance, for I will not ſay the malice,

"malice, of their guides; and that
"through the juſt judgment of God,
"becauſe, through ſloth and blind obe-
"dience, men examined not the things
"they were taught, but like beaſts of
"burthen patiently couched down, and
"indifferently under-went all what-
"ſoever their Superiours laid upon
"them. If the diſcretion of the chief-
"eſt guides of the Church did, in a
"point ſo trivial, ſo inconſiderable, ſo
"mainly fail them: Can we without
"the imputation of great groſſneſs
"and folly, think ſo poor-ſpirited per-
"ſons competent Judges of the Que-
"ſtions now on foot betwixt the
"Churches? Where, or among
"whom, or how many the Church
"ſhall be, it is a thing indifferent:
"What if thoſe to whom the Execu-
"tion of the publick Service is com-
"mitted, do ſomething, either un-
"ſeemly or ſuſpitious, or peradven-
"ture unlawful; what if the Garments
"they wear be cenſured, nay, indeed
"be ſuſpitious; What if the geſture
"or adoration to be uſed to the Al-

"tars, as now we have learned to "ſpeak? What if the Homiliſt have "preached or delivered any Doctrine, "of the truth of which we are not well "perſwaded, (a thing which very "often falls out) yet, for all this, we "may not ſeparate, except we be con- "ſtrained perſonally to bear a part in "it our ſelves. Nothing can be a juſt "cauſe of refuſing Communion in "Schiſm, that concerns Fact, but one- "ly to require the execution of ſome "unlawful or ſuſpected Act. For, not "onely in Reaſon, but in Religion too, "that Maxim admits of no releaſe; "*Cautiſſimi cujuſque præceptum, quod "dubitas ne feceris:* That whatſoever "you doubt of, that you in no caſe do. He inſtances then in the Second Coun- cil of *Nice*, where, ſaith he, the "*Synod* it ſelf was the Schiſmatical par- "ty in the point of uſing the Images, "which, ſaith he, all acknowledge "unneceſſary, moſt do ſuſpect, and "many hold utterly unlawful: Can "then the enjoyning of ſuch a thing be "ought elſe but an abuſe? Can the re-

"refuſal of Communion here be
"thought any other thing than Duty?
"Here, or upon the like occaſion to ſe-
"parate, may peradventure bring per-
"ſonal trouble or danger, againſt
"which it concerns any honeſt man
"to have *Pectus præparatum.* Then of
Schiſm from Opinion. "Prayer, Con-
"feſſion, Thankſgiving, Reading of
"Scripture, Adminiſtration of Sacra-
"ments in the plaineſt and the ſimpleſt
"manner, were matter enough to fur-
"niſh out a ſufficient Liturgy, though
"nothing either of private Opinion
"or of Church Pomp, of Garments,
"of preſcribed Geſtures, of Imagery,
"of Muſick, of matter concerning
"the Dead, of many Superfluities
"which creep into the Church, under
"the name of Order and Decency,
"did interpoſe it ſelf. To charge
"Churches and Liturgies with things
"unneceſſary, was the firſt beginning of
"Superſtition. If the Fathers and ſpe-
"cial Guides of the Church would be
"a little ſparing in incumbring Chur-
"ches with Superfluities, or not over-

" rigid either in reviving obſolete cu-
" ſtoms, or impoſing new: there would
" be far leſs cauſe of Schiſm or Su-
" perſtition; and all the inconvenience
" likely to enſue, would be but this,
" They ſhould in ſo doing yield a little
" to the imbecility of their inferiours;
" a thing which Saint *Paul* would ne-
" ver have refuſed to do. It is alike
" unlawful to make profeſſion of
" known or ſuſpected falſhood, as to
" put in practice unlawful or ſuſpect-
" ed Actions. The third thing I na-
" med for matter of Schiſm was Am-
" bition, I mean, Epiſcopal Ambi-
" tion; One head of which, is one
" Biſhops claiming Supremacy over
" another, which, as it hath been from
" time to time a great Treſpaſs a-
" gainſt the Churches Peace, ſo it is
" now the final ruine of it. For they
" do but abuſe themſelves and others,
" who would perſwade us that Biſhops
" by Chriſts inſtitution have any Su-
" periority over other men further than
" that of Reverence, or that any Biſhop
" is Superiour to another further than
" poſitive Order agreed upon among
Chriſtians

"Christians had prescribed. Time "hath taken leave, sometimes, to fix "this name of CONVENTICLES "upon good and honest Meetings. "Though open Assemblies are requi- "red yet, at all times while men are "really pious, all Meetings of men for "mutual help of Piety and Devotion, "wheresoever, and by whomsoever ce- "lebrated, were permitted without ex- "ception. In times of manifest Cor- "ruption and Persecution, wherein "Religious Assembling is dangerous, "Private Meetings, howsoever besides "Publick Order, are not onely lawful, "but they are of Necessity and Duty. "All pious Assemblies, in times of "Persecution and Corruption howso- "ever practised, are indeed, or rather "alone, the Lawful Congregations: "and Publick Assemblies, though ac- "cording to form of Law, are, indeed, "nothing else but RIOTS and CON- "VENTICLES, if they be stained with Corruption and Superstition. Do you not see now, Mr. *Bayes*, that you needed not to have gone so far for a

word, when you might have had it in the Neighbourhood? If there be any Coherence left in your Scull, you cannot but perceive that I have brought you Authority enough to prove that *Schism* (for the reason we may discourse another time) do's at least rhime to *Ism*. But you have a peculiar delight and felicity, (which no man envies you) in Scripture-Drollery, nothing less will taste to your Palate: whereas otherwise you have travelled so far in *Italy*, that you could not escape the Titles of some Books which would have served your turn as well, *Cardinalism*, *Nepotism*, *Putanism*, if you were in a *Paroxism* of the *Ism's*.

When I had writ this, and undergon so grateful a Penance for no less than that I had transcribed before out of our Author; I could not upon comparing them both together but reflect most seriously upon the difference of their two ways of Discoursing. I could not but admire that Majesty and Beauty which sits upon the Forehead of masculine Truth and generous Honesty: but no less

leſs deteſt the Deformity of Falſhood diſguiſed in all its Ornaments. How much another thing it is to hear him ſpeak, that hath cleared himſelf from froth and growns, and who ſuffers neither Sloth nor Fear, nor Ambition, nor any other tempting Spirit of that nature to abuſe him, from one, who as Mr. *Hales* expreſſeth it, makes Chriſtianity Lacquey to Ambition; how wretchedly, the one to uphold his *Fiction*, muſt incite Princes to Perſecution and Tyranny, degrade Grace to Morality, debauch Conſcienee againſt its own Principles, diſtort and miſinterpret the Scripture, fill the World with Blood, Execution, and Maſſacre; while the other needs and requires no more but a peaceable and unprejudicat Soul and the native Simplicity of a Chriſtian-ſpirit! And me-thinks, if our Author had any ſpark of Vertue unextinguiſhed, he ſhould, upon conſidering theſe together, retire into his Cloſet, and there lament and pine away for his deſperate folly; for the diſgrace he hath, as far as in him is, brought upon the

Church

Church of England by such an undertaking, and for the eternal shame to which he has hereby condemned his own Memory.

I ask you heartily pardon, Mr. *Bayes*, for treating you against *Decorum* here, with so much gravity. 'Tis possible I may not trouble you above once or twice more in the like nature; but so often at least, I hope one may in the writing of a whole Book, have leave to be serious. Your next Flower, and that indeed is a sweet one, *Dear Heart, how could I hug and kiss thee for all this Love and Sweetness?* Fy, fy, Mr. *Bayes*, Is this the Language of a Divine, and to be used, as you sometimes express it, in the face of the Sun? Who can escape from thinking that you are a dream'd of your *Comfortable Importance?* These are (as the *Moral Satyrist* calls them in the cleanliest manner the thing would bear) *Words left betwixt the Sheets*: Some body might take it ill that you should misapply your Courtship to an Enemy. But in the *Roman Empire* it was the

Privi-

Priviledge of the Hangman to deflour a Virgin before Execution. But, sweet Mr. *Bayes*, (for I know you do nothing without a precedent of some of the greatest Wits of the Nation) Whose Example had you for this *seeming Transport* of a gentler *Passion*?

Then comes, *Welfare poor Macedo for a modest Fool.* This I know is matter of *Gazette*, which is as Canonical as *Ecclesiastical Policy.* Therefore I have the less to say to't. Only, I could wish that there were some severer Laws against such Villains who raise so false and scandalous reports of worthy Gentlemen; and that those Laws were put in execution: And that men might not be suffered to walk the streets in so confident a garb, who commit those Assassinats upon the reputation of deserving persons.

Here follows a sore Charge: that the Answerer had *without any provocation, in a publick and solemn way, undertaken the defence of the Fanatick Cause.* Here, indeed, Mr. *Bayes*, you have Reason. And you might have had as just a quar-

rel

rel against whosoever had undertaken it. For, your design and hope was from the beginning, that no man would have answered you in a publick and solemn way; and, nothing would vex a wise man, as you are, more than to have his intention and Counsel frustrated. When you have rang'd all your forces in Batrel, when you have plac'd your Canon, when you have sounded a charge, and given the Word to fall on upon the whole Party; if you could then perswade every particular person of 'm, that you gave him no Provocation, I confess, Mr. *Byes*, this were an excellent and a new way of your inventing, to conquer single, ('tis your Moral Vertue) whole Armies. And so the *admiring Drove* might stand gaping, till one by one, you had cut all their throats. But, Mr. *Byes*, I cannot discern but that you give him as much Provocation in your first Book, as he has you in his *Evangelical Love, Church-Peace and Unity*, which is the pretence of your issuing this Preface. For, having for your *Dear sake* (be-

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ſide many other troubles that I have undertaken, without your giving me any Provocation) ſought out and peruſed that Book too, I do not find you any where perſonally concern'd, but as you have, it ſeems upon ſome conviction, aſſumed to your ſelf ſome vices or errours againſt which he ſpeaks onely in general, and with ſome modeſty But for the reſt, you ſay upon full peruſal, *you find not one Syllable to the purpoſe, beſide a perpetual Repetition of the old out-worn Story of Unſcriptural Ceremonies, and ſome frequent whinings, and ſometimes ravings*, &c. Now to ſee the Dulneſs of ſome mens Capacities above others. I upon this occaſion, begun, I know not how it came, at p. 127. And thence read on to the end of his Book. And from thence I turn'd to the beginning and continued to p. 127. and could not all along, obſerve any thing but what was very pertinent to the matter in hand. But this is your way of excuſing your ſelf from replying to things that yet you will be medling with, and nibling at: and 'tis beſides a pretty knack (the Nonconformiſts

fomnists have it not alone) of frighting or discouraging sober people from reading those dangerous Treatises which might contribute to their better information. I cannot but observe, Mr. *Bayes*, this admirable way (like fat *Sir John Falstaffe's* singular dexterity in sinking) that you have of answering whole Books and Discourses, how pithy and knotty soever, in a line or two, nay sometimes with a word. So it fares with this Book of the Answerers. So with a Book or Discourse of his, I know not, of the *Morality of the Lords Day*; which is answered by a *Septenary Portion* in the *Hebdomadal Revolution*. So whether Book or Discourse I also know not of the *Self-evidencing light of the Scripture*, where *Bayes* offers (and it seems strange) to produce as good proofs for it out of the *Alcoran*. So I show'd you where he answers demonstration with the Lye. And one thing more comes into my mind; where after he has blunder'd a great while to bring himself off the Magistrates exercising the Priesthood in his own person, he concludes

cludes with an irresistable defence against his Answerer, *This is suitable to the Genius of his ingenuity, and betrayes him as much as the word* INTANGLEMENT, *which is the Shiboleth of all his Writings.* So he defeats all the *gross bodies of Orthodoxy* with calling them *Systemes and Syntagmes.* So you know he answers all the Controversial Books of the Calvinists that ever have been written, with the Tale of *Robin Hood*, and the *mighty Bramble on the South side of the Lake Lemni.* Mr. *Bayes*, you cannot enough esteem and cherrish this Faculty. For, next to your single beating whole Armies, I do not know any Virtue that you have need of so often, or that will upon tryal be found more useful.

And to this succeeds an other Flower, I am sure, though I can scarce smell out the fence of it. But it is printed in a distinct Character, & that is always a certain sign of a flower. For our Booksellers have many Arts to make us *yield to their importunity:* and among the rest, they promise us, that it shall be printed in fine Paper, and in a very large and fair letter;

letter; that it shall be very well examined that there be no Errata; that wheresoever there is a pretty Conceit, it shall be marked out in another Character; that the Sentences shall be boxed up in several paragraphs, and more Drawers than in any Cabinet; that the Books shall all be bound up in Calves Leather. But my greatest care was, that when I quoted any sentence or word of our Author's, it might be so discernable, lest I should go for a Plagiary. And I am much offended to see that in several places he hath not kept touch with me. The Word of Mr. *Bayes*'s that he has here made more notorious, is *Categoricalness*: and I observe that wheresoever there comes a word of that termination, he shows it the same honour; as if he had a mind to make *Bayes* a Collar of *Nesses*. What the mystery is, I cannot so easily imagine, no more than of *Shibboleth* and *Intanglement*. But I doubt Mr. *Bayes* is sick of many complicated Diseases; or to keep to our rhime, *Sicknesses*. He is troubled not only with the *Isms* but the *Nesses*. He might, if he

he had pleaſed, here too to have ſhown his wit, as he did in the others, and have told us of *Sheerneſs*, *Dongioneſs*, *Innerneſs* and *Cathneſs*. But he omitted it perhaps in this place, knowing how well he had acquitted himſelf in another, and out of the Scripture too, which gives his Wit the higheſt reliſh. 'Tis p. 72. of his firſt Book, where, to prove that the fruits of the Spirit are no more than Morality, he quotes Saint *Paul*, Gal. 5. 22. Where the Apoſtle enumerates them; *Love*, *Joy*, *Peace*, *Patience*, *Gentleneſs*, *Goodneſs*, *Faith*, *Meekneſs* and *Temperance*: but our Author tranſlates Joy to *Chearfulneſs*, Peace to *Peaceableneſs*, and Faith to *Faithfulneſs*: What Ignorance, or rather, what Forgery is this of Scripture and Religion? Who is there of the *Syſtematical*, *German*, *Geneva*, *Orthodox Divines*, but could have taught him better? Who is there of the *Sober*, *Intelligent*, *Epiſcopal Divines* of the Church of *England* but would abhor this Interpretation? Yet, when his Anſwerer, I ſee, objects this to him,

p. 220. *Bayes*, like a dexterous Scholastical Disputant, it being told him, That Joy is not Chearfulness, but that *Spiritual Joy which is unspeakable*; that Peace is not peaceableness in his Sense, but *that Peace of God which through Jesus Christ is wrought in the hearts of Believers by the Holy Ghost*; and that *Faith in God* is there intended, not *faithfulness in our Duties, Trusts or Offices*: What does he do? p. 337. He very ingenuously and wisely, when he is to answer, quite forgets that Faith was once named: and having suppress't that, as to the rest he wipes his Mouth, and rubs his Forehead, and saith, the *Cavil is but a little one, and the Fortune of Cæsar and the Roman Empire depends not upon it, and therefore he will not trouble the Reader with a Critical Account of the reason of his Translation.* No, don't Mr. *Bayes*, 'Tis very well; let it alone. But, though not the Fortunes of *Cæsar* and the Roman Empire, I doubt there is something more depends upon it, if it be matter of Salvation. And I am afraid besides, that there may a Curse

too

too belong to him who ſhall knowingly add or diminiſh in the Scripture. Do you think Biſhop *Bramhal* himſelf, if he had ſeen this, could have abſtained (p. 117. before quoted.) from telling our Author, *That the promiſcuous Licence given to people qualified or unqualified, not onely to read but to interpret the Scriptures according to their private Spirits or particular Fancies, without regard either to the Analogy of Faith, which they underſtand not, or to the Interpretation of the Doctors of former Ages, is more prejudicial (I might better ſay) pernicious both to particular Chriſtians, and to whole Societies, than the over-rigorous reſtraint of the Romaniſts.*

The next is a piece of Mirth, on occaſion of ſome diſcourſe of the Anſwerers, about the Morality of the Lords-day: Where it ſeems, he uſeth ſome hard words, which I am naturally an Enemy to; but might be done of purpoſe to keep the Controverſie from the White-aprons, within the white Surplices, to be more learnedly debated. But this fares no better

than all the reſt. There is no kind of *Morality*, I ſee, but *Bayes* will try to debauch it: *Oh, what edifying Doctrine, ſaith he, is this to the White-Aprons! and doubtleſs they would with the Jews, ſooner roaſt themſelves, than a ſmall joynt of Mutton upon the Sacred day of Reſt.* Now, I do not, neither, I believe, does *Bayes* himſelf know any of them that are thus ſuperſtitious. So that Mr. *Bayes* might, if he had pleaſed, have ſpared his jibing at that day, which hath more facredneſs in it by far than many, nay than any of thoſe things he pleaded for. But when men are once *Adepti* and have attain'd *Bayes* his height, and *Divinity* at leaſt *is rightly underſtood*, they have a Priviledge, it ſeems, not onely to play and make merry *on* the Sabbath day, but *with* it.

After this I walked a great way through buſhes and brambles before I could find another Flower: but then I met with two upon one ſtalk; on occaſion of his Anſwerers having ſaid ſome thing of the day of Judgment when men ſhould be accountable. *Oh*, ſaith he, *We*

ſhall

shall be sure to be accounted with at that day of Judgment; and again, *Ah sweet day, when these people of God shall once for all, to their unspeakable Comfort and Support, wreak their eternal Revenge upon their reprobat Enemies.* This puts me in mind of another expression of our Authors alluding too this way. *'Tis an easie matter by this dancing and capering humour to perpetuate all the Controversies in the world, how plainly soever determinable, to the coming of* Elias: *and after this rate shall the Barbers bason remain* Mambrino's *helmet; and the Asses Pannel a Furniture for the Great Horse till the day of Judgment.* Now, good Mr. *Bayes*, I am one that desire to be very well resolved in these things; and though not much indeed, yet I attribute something to your judgment. Pray tell us in good earnest, what you think of these things, that we may know how to take our measures of living accordingly. For, if indeed there be no Judgment, no account for what is done here below, I have lost a great deal of precious time, that I might have injoyed

in one of the fruits of your Spirit, that is *Chearfulness*. How many good jests have I balk'd, even in writing this Book, lest I should be brought to answer for every profane and idle word! How frequent opportunities have I mist in my life of geniality and pleasure, and fulfilling Nature in all it's ends! How have you frighted the Magistrate in vain, from exercising his uncontrolable Ecclesiastical Power, with the fear of an after-reckoning to God Almighty? And how have you, p. 238 defeated the obligatory force of all his Laws, and set his Subjects at liberty from all obligations to the duty of Obedience? for they lie under no Obligation, you say then, but of prudence and Self-interest. But unless there hath been some error in our education, and we have been seasoned with ill Books at first, so that we can never lose the Impression, there is some such matter, and the Governour had reason, when he trembled to hear Saint *Paul* discoursing of that Subject. The Fanatical *Book of Martyrs* (for we will not with some call the Bible so)

ſo) tells us ſome old ſtories of perſons that have been cited by ſome of them to appear at ſuch a day, and that by dying at the time prefixed, they have ſaved their Reconnoiſſances. And in the *Scotch* Hiſtory we read of a great Cardinal that was ſo ſummoned by poor Mr. *Guichard*, and yet could not help it, but he muſt take that long and ſad journey of Death to anſwer at the Grand Aſſizes. If therefore there be ſuch a thing, I would not for fear; and if there be not, yet I would not for good luck ſake, ſet that terrible day at defiance, or make too merry with it. 'Tis poſſible that the Nonconformiſts many of them may be too cenſorious of others, and too confident of their own Integrity. Others of them are more temperate, and perhaps deſtitute of all humane redreſs againſt their ſufferings. Some of thoſe make raſh Challenges, and the other juſt appeals to appear at that dreadful Tribunal. In the mean time, 'tis not for you to be both the Enemy and their Judge. Much leſs do's it beſit you, becauſe perhaps they ſpeak

too sillily or demurely of it, or too braying and confidently, therefore to make a meer mockery of the whole business of that Supreme Judge and Judicature. And one thing I will say more, though slighter; that though I am not so far gone as *Campanella* was in the efficacy of words, and the Magick of the face, and pronunciation, yet I marked how your Answerer look'd when he spoke of the day of Judgment. Very gravely, I assure you, and yet without any dressing or adorning his *Supercilium*: And I have most often observed that serious words have produced serious Effects. I have by this time methinks, gather'd enow: nor are there many more left, unless I should go for a Flower to the *Dunghil*, which, he saith, *is his only Magazin*. And this being an expression which he has several times used (for no Nonconformist repeats so often) I cannot but remark, that besides his natural Talent, Mr. *Bayes* hath been very industrious, and neglected no opportunity of acquiring a perfection of railing. For this is a phrase borrow-

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ed from a modern Author lately dead, and I ſuppoſe Mr. *Bayes* had given him a Bond for repayment at the day that he ſpoke of ſo lately. There are indeed ſeveral others at which I am fore'd to ſtop my noſe. For by the ſmell, any man may diſcern they grew upon a ranker ſoil, than that on the South ſide of the Lake *Lemane*, even upon the bank of the *Thames* in the Meadow of *Billin ſ-gate:* as that of the Lye, which, he ſaith, no Gentleman, much leſs a Divine, ought to put up. Now if this were to be tryed by a Court Martial of the Brothers of the Blade, 'tis to be conſidered whether it were the down-right Lye, or whether it were the Lye by Interpretation. For in the diſputes of the Schools there is nothing more uſual, than *Hoc eſt Verum, Hoc eſt falſum.* But this paſſes without any blemiſh of Honour on either ſide, and ſo far it is from any obligation to a Challenge or a Duel, that it never comes to be decided, ſo much as by the Study-door key. But *quod reſtat probandum* do's the buſineſs without demanding other ſatisfaction.

Then,

Then if it were the down-right Lye; it is to be examined who gave the Lye first; for that alters the case. And last of all (but which is indeed upon a quarrel the least material point, yet it too comes under some consideration) which of the two was in the right, and which of them spoke truth, and which lyed. These are all things to be discussed in their proper places. For I do not observe that the Answerer gave *Bayes* the down-right Lye. But I find that *Bayes* gave him the Lye first in terms. And as to the Truth of the things controverted and alledg'd, there needs no more than the depositions that I formerly transcribed concerning *Bayes* his words. But all this is onely a Scene out of *Bayes* his *Rehearsal*.

Villain, thou lieſt,——
——Arm, arm, Valerio arm,
The Lie no fleſh can bear I trow,

And then as to the success of the Combate, *——They fly, they fly*
Who firſt did give the Lye.

For that of *Caitife*, and other Provocations that are proper for the same Court, I will not meddle further. And

for

for the being *past Grace and so past Mercy*; I shall only observe that the Church of *England* is much obliged to Mr. *Bayes* for having proved that Nonconformity is the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

There remains but one Flower more that I have a mind to; but that indeed is a Rapper. 'Tis a *Flower of the Sun*, and might alone serve both for a Staff and a Nose-gay for any Noble mans Potter, *Symbolicalness is the very Essence of Paganism, Superstition and Idolatry. They will and ought sooner to broyl in* Smithfield *than to submit to such Abomination of the Strumpet and the Beast. 'Tis the very Potion wherewith the Scarlet Whore made drunk the Kings of the Earth.* Heliogabalus *and Bishop* Bonner *lov'd it like Clary and Eggs, and always made it their Mornings-draught upon burning days; and it is not to be doubted but the seven Vials of Wrath that were to be powred out upon the Nations of the Earth under the Reign of Antichrist were filled with Symbolical Extracts and Spirits:* This is I confess a pretty Posie for the Nose of such a Divine.

vine. Doctor *Baily*'s Romance of the *Wall-Flower* had nothing comparable to't. And I queſtion, whether, as well as Mr. *Bayes* loves preferment, yet though he had lived in the Primitive Church, he would not as *Heliodorus* Biſhop of *Triſſa*, I take it, that renounced his Biſhoprick rather than his Title to the Hiſtory of *Theagenes* and *Charidia*, have done in like manner: nay, and have delivered up his Bible too into the bargain, before he would quit the Honour of ſo excellent a piece of Drollery. This is ſurely the Bill of Fare, not at the *Nags-head* but at the *Cock*, and never did Divine make ſo good Chear of *Owen*'s Peaſe-porridge and Scripture. I know no Dainty wanting, or that could have pleaſed his Tooth ſo well, except the Leg of a Pheaſant at the *Dog* and *Partridge*; for he is of *Thomas a Becket*'s Dyet; who eat, he ſaid, *Phæſianum ſicut alij Muluellum*, and can mortifie himſelf upon Pheaſant, as well as others with Salt-fiſh.

Good Mr. *Bayes*, or Mr. *Thunder*, or Mr. *Cartwright* (not the Nonconformiſt

formist *Cartwright*, that was you say (as some others too of your acquaintance) converted: but the Player in the Rehearsal) this *Divinity* I doubt was the *Bacchus* of your Thigh, and not the *Pallas* of your Brain.

Here it is that after so great an excess of Wit, he thinks fit to take a Julep and re settle his Brain, and the Government. He grows as serious as 'tis possible for a Madman, and pretends to sum up the whole state of the Controversie with the Nonconformists. And to be sure he will make the story as plausible for himself as he may: but therefore it was that I have before so particularly quoted and bound him up with his own Words as fast as such a *Proteus* could be pinion'd. For he is as waxen as the first matter, and no Form comes amiss to him. Every change of Posture does either alter his opinion or vary the expression by which we should judge of it: and sitting he is of one mind, and standing of another. Therefore I take my self the less concern'd, to fight with a Wind-mill like *Don Quixote*:

or

or to whip a Gig as Boyes do, or with the Lacquies at *Charing-Cross* or *Lincolns-Inne*-fields to play at the *Wheel of Fortune*, leſt I ſhould fall into the hands of my Lord Chief Juſtice, or Sir *Edmond Godfrey*. The truth is in ſhort, and let *Bayes* make more or leſs of it if he can; *Bayes* had at firſt built up ſuch a ſtupendious Magiſtrate, as never was of Gods making. He had put all Princes upon the Rack to ſtretch them to his dimenſion. And, as a ſtreight line continued grows a Circle, he had given them ſo infinite a Power that it was extended unto Impotency. For though he found it not, till it was too late in the Cauſe; yet he felt it all along (which is the underſtanding of Brutes) in the Effect. For, hence it is that he ſo often complains, that Princes knew not aright that Supremacy over Conſcience, to which they were ſo lately, ſince their deſerting the Church of *Rome*, reſtored. That in moſt Nations Government was not rightly underſtood, and many expreſſions of that Nature: Whereas indeed the matter

is

is that Princes have alwayes found that uncontrolable Government over CONSCIENCE to be both unsafe and impracticable. He had run himself here to a ſtand, and perceiv'd that there was a God, there was Scripture; the Magiſtrate himſelf had a Conſcience, and muſt *take care that he did not enjoyn things apparently evil.* Being at a ſtop here, he would therefore try how he could play the Broker on the Subjects ſide: and no Pimp did ever enter into a more ſerious diſputation to vitiate an innocent Virgin, than he to debauch their Conſciences. And to harden their unpractis'd modeſty, he imboldens them by his own Example, ſhowing them the experiment upon his own Conſcience firſt. But after all, he finds himſelf again at the ſame ſtand here, and is run up to the Wall by an Angel. God, and Scripture, and Conſcience will not let him go further: but he owns, that if the Magiſtrate enjoyns things apparently evil, the Subject may have liberty to remonſtrate. What ſhall he do then? For it is too glori-

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ous an Enterprize to be abandoned at the first rebuffe. Why he gives us a new Translation of the Bible, and a new Commentary. He saith that Tenderness of Conscience might be allowed in a Church to be constituted, not in a Church constituted already. That tenderness of Conscience and Scandal are Ignorance, Pride and Obstinacy. He saith, the Nonconformists should communicate with him till they have clear evidence that it is evil. This is a civil way indeed of gaining the question, to perswade men that are unsatisfied, to be satisfied till they be dissatisfied. He threatens, he rails, he jeers them, if it were possible, out of all their Consciences and Honesty; and finding that will not do, he calls out the Magistrate, tells him, these men are not fit to live, there can be no security of Government while they are in being: Bring out the Pillories, Whipping-posts, Gallies, Rods, and Axes, (which are *Ratio ultima Cleri*, a Clergy-mans last Argument, ay and his first too:) and pull in peices all the

Trading

Trading Corporations thoſe Neſts of Faction and Sedition. This is a faithful account of the ſumm and intention of all his undertaking, for which I confeſs, he was as pick'd a man as could have been employ'd or found out in a whole Kingdome: but it is ſo much too hard a Task for any man to atchieve, that no Gooſe but would grow giddy with it.

For whereas he reduces the whole Controverſy to a matter of two or three Symbolical Ceremonies (and if there be nothing elſe, more the ſhame of thoſe that keep ſuch a pudder for them) it is very well worth obſerving how he hath behaved himſelf, and how come off in this Diſpute. It ſeems that the Conformiſts define a Sacrament to be an Outward viſible ſign of an Inward Spiritual Grace. It ſeems that the Sacraments are uſually called in the Greek *Symbola*. It ſeems further that ſome of the Nonconformiſts, under the name therefore of Symbolical Ceremonies, diſpute the lawfulneſs of thoſe that are by our Church enjoy-

ned, whereby the Nonconformists can onely intend that these Ceremonies are so applyed, as if they were of a Sacramental nature and institution, and that therefore they are unlawful. Our Authors Answerer handling this Argument, does among other things make use of a pertinent Passage in St. *Austin*, *Signa quum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur.* What does Mr. *Bayes* in this Case? for it went hard with him. Why, as good luck would have it, not being willing that so great a Politician, to the irreparable Damage of the Church, should yet be destroyed, *J. O.* had forgot to quote the Book and the Page. Now though you send a man the length of your Weapon, and name your Second; Yet Mr. *Bayes* being, as you see often, admirably read in the Laws of Duelling, knew that unless the Time and Place be appointed, there is no danger. He saith therefore, p. 452. of his second Book, that he *should have advantage on his side, if he should lay odds with him, that there is no such passage in all*

all the Volumns of Saint Austin.—— But however, that it is neither civil nor ingenuous to trouble him with such Objections, as he cannot answer without reading over eight or ten large Volumns in Folio. It was too much to expect from one of so much business, good *Augustulus:*

Quum tot sustineas & tanta negotia solus;
Res Sacras Armis tuteris, Moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes ——

Which may be thus translated: When you alone have the Ceremonies to defend with Whipping-posts, Rods and Axes; when you have Grace to turn into Morality; when you have the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, and the Ecclesiastical Declaration of *March* to tear in pieces; it were unreasonable and too much to the dammage of the publick to put you on such an imployment. I ask your Pardon, Mr. *Bayes*, for this Paraphrase and Digression; for

I perceive I am even hardned in my Latine, and am prone to use it without fear or reverence. But Mr. *Bayes*, there might have been a remedy for this, had you pleased. Where then were all your *Leaf-turners*? a sort of poor Readers *that you, as well as Bishop* Bramhal, *ought to have some Reverence for*, having made so much use of them to gather materials for your Structures and Superstructures. I cannot be perswaded, for all this, but that he knows it well enough, the passage being so remarkable in it self, and so dirtyed with the Nonconformists thumbs, that he could not possibly miss it: and I doubt he does but laugh at me now, when, to save him a labour, I tell him in the simplicity of my heart, that even I my self met with it in *Ep. 5ta. ad Marcellinum*, and the words these, *Nimis autem longum est convenienter disputare de varietate signorum quæ cum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur.* But whether there be such a place or no, he hath no mind that his Answerer should make use of it: nor of the Schoolmen, whom

whom before he had owned for the Authors of the Church of *England's* Divinity; but would bind up the Answerer to the Law onely and the Gospel. And now Mr. *Bayes* saith he will be of the School-mens opinion *as long as they speak Sense* and no longer, (and so I believe of Saint *Austin's*) that is to say, so long as they will serve his turn: for all Politicians shake men off when they have no more use of 'm, or find them to thwart the design. But, Mr. *Bayes*, why may not your Answerer or any man else quote Saint *Austin*, as well as you may the Scripture? I am sure there is less danger of perverting the place, or of misinterpretation. And though perhaps a Nonconformist may value the Authority of the Bible above that of the Fathers, and yet the *Welch* have a Proverb; that the Bible and a Stone do well together: meaning perhaps, that if the one miss the other will hit. You, that are a Duellist, know how great a bravery 'tis to gain an enemies Sword, and that there is no more home thrust in disputation, than the *Argu-*

mentum ad hominem. So that if your Adversary fell upon you with one of your own Fathers, it was gallantly done on his part; and no less wisely on yours, to fence in this manner, and use all your shifts to put it by. For you too, Mr. *Bayes*, do know, no man better, that it is not at all times safe nor honourable to be of a *Fathers* opinion.

Having escaped this danger, he grows, nor can I blame him, exceeding merry: and insults heavily over *Symbolical* wheresoever he meets with it, for in his Answerer I find it not. But wheresoever 'twas, it serves to good purpose. For no man would imagin that he could have received so universal a Defeat, and appear in so good humour. A terrible Disputant he is, when he has set up an hard word to be his Opponent; 'Tis a very wholsome thing he knows, and prolongs life: for all the while he can keep up this Ball, he may decline the Question. But the poor Word is sure to be mumbled and mowsled to purpose, and to be made an Example. But let us, with Mr. *Bayes* his leave, examine

amine the thing for once a little closer. The Nonconformists, as I took notice before, do object to some of the Rites of the Church of *England*, under the name of Symbolical or significant Ceremonies. They observe the Church of *England* does in the discourse of Ceremonies printed before the Common Prayer Book, declare that the retaining of those Ceremonies, is not onely *as they serve for decent Order and godly Discipline; but as they are apt to stir up the dull mind of Man to the remembrance of his Duty to God, by some special and notable significancy whereby he may be edified.* They further observe the Church of *England's* definition of a Sacrament: That it is *an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual Grace.* They find these Ceremonies, so constituted, impos'd upon them by Authority; and moreover, according to our Authors principle, made a new part of the Divine Law. They therefore quarrel and except against these under the notion of Sacraments, and insist that the Church is not impowered to institute such Cere-

monies under such obligations and penalties as they are imposed. Or if you will, in stead of Church you may say rather the Magistrate: for as much as our Author hath *pro hac vice* delivered the Keyes and the whole power of the House into his hands.

Now the Author having got them at this lock cries Victory. Nothing less will serve him than a three dayes Triumph, as if he had conquered *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, and let him have a fourth day added, if he please, over the *Terra incognita* of *Geneva*. There is no end of his Ostentation and Pageantry; and the dejected Nonconformists follow the wheels of his Chariot, to be led afterwards to the Prison and there executed. He had said p. 446. of his Second Book, *Here* Cartwright *begun his Objection, and here he was immediately check'd in his Carriere by* Whitgift (you might Mr. Author, for respect's sake have called him at least Mr. if not Arch-bishop *Whitgift*) *who told him plainly, he could not be ignorant that to the making of a Sacrament, besides the external*

ternal Element, there is required a Commandment of God in his Word that it ſhould be done, and a promiſe annexed to it, whereof the Sacrament is a Seal. And in purſuance hereof, p. 447. our Author ſaith, *Here then I fix my foot, and dare him to his teeth, to prove that any thing can be capable of the nature or office of Sacraments that is not eſtabliſhed by Divine Inſtitution and upon Promiſe of Divine Acceptance.* Upon the confidence of this Argument 'tis that he *Hectors* and *Achillizes* all the Nonconformiſts out of the pit in this preface. This is the Sword that was conſecrated firſt upon the Altar, and thence preſented to the Champions of the Church in all Ages. This is that with which Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* gave *Cartwright his death's wound: and laid the Puritan Reformation a gaſping.* This is the weapon wherewith Maſter *Hooker gained thoſe laſting and eternal Trophies over that baffled Cauſe.* This is that with which Biſhop *Bramhal wrought thoſe wonderful things that exceeded all belief.* This hath been tranſmitted ſucceſſively to the

Writer

Writer of the *Friendly Debate*, and to this our Author. It is in conclusion the *Curtana* of our Church. 'Tis *Sir Salomon's* Sword, Cock of as many men as it hath been drawn against. Wo worth the man that comes in the way of so dead-doing a tool, and when wielded with the arm of such a *Scanderbeg* as our Author. The Nonconformists had need desire a Truce to bury their dead. Nay there are none left alive to desire it: but they are slain every mothers Son of them. Yet perhaps they are but stounded and may revive again. For I do not see all this while, that any of them have written, as a great Prelate of ours, a Book of *Seven Sacraments*: or attempted to prove that these Symbolical Ceremonies are indeed Sacraments. Nothing less. 'Tis that which they most labour against, and they complain that these things should be imposed on them with so high Penalty, as want nothing of a Sacramental nature but Divine Institution. And because an Human Institution is herein made of equal force to a Divine Institution, therefore

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it is that they are agrieved. All that they mean, or could mean, as far as I or any man can perceive, is onely that these Ceremonies are a kind of *Anti-Sacraments*, and so obtruded upon the Church, that without condescending to these additional Inventions, no man is to be admitted to partake of the true Sacraments which were of Christ's appointing. For, without the Sign of the Cross, our Church will not receive any one to Baptism, also without kneeling no man is suffer'd to come to the Communion. So that methinks our Author and his Partners have wounded themselves onely with this Argument: and have had as little occasion here to sing their *Te Deums*, as the *Roman* Emperour had to triumph over the Ocean, because he had gathered Periwinkles and Scallop shells on the Beach. For the Author may transform their reasonings as oft as he pleases (even as oft as he doth his own, or the Scriptures:) but this is indeed their Fort out of which I do not see they are likely to be beat with all our Authors Cannon: that no such

such new Conditions ought to be imposed upon Christians by a less than Divine Authority, and unto which if they do not submit, though against their Consciences, they shall therefore be depriv'd of Communion with the Church. And I wonder that our Author *could not observe any thing in the Discourse of Evangelical love, that was to the purpose, beside a perpetual repetition*, of the out-worn story of unscriptural Ceremonies, and a peculiar uncouthness and obscurity of stile; when as this Plea is there for so many pages distinctly and vigorously insisted on. For it is a childish thing (how high soever our Author magnifies himself in this way of reasoning) either to demand from the Non-conformists a patern of their Worship from the Scripture, who affect therein a simplicity free from all exterior circumstances, but such as are natural or customary: or else to require of them some particular command against the Cross, or kneeling, and such like Ceremonies, which in the time of the Apostles and many ages after were not thought of.

of. But therefore general and applicable Rules of Scripture they urge as directions to the Conſcience; unto which our Author gives no ſatisfactory Solution, but by ſuperſeding and extinguiſhing the Conſcience, or expoſing it to the ſevereſt penalties. But here I ſay then is their main exception, that things indifferent, and that have no proper ſignature, or ſignificancy to that purpoſe, ſhould by command be made neceſſary conditions of Church-Communion. I have many times wiſhed for peaceableneſs-ſake, that they had a greater latitude; but if unleſs they ſhould ſtretch their Conſciences till they tear again, they cannot conform, what remedy? For I muſt confeſs that Chriſtians have a better Right and Title to the Church, and to the Ordinances of God there, than the Author had to his Surplice. And that Right is ſo undoubted and ancient, that it is not to be innovated upon by humane reſtrictions and capitulations.

Biſhop *Bramhall* p. 141. faith, *I do pro-*

professe to all the World, that the transforming of indifferent Opinions into necessary Articles of Faith, hath been that Insana Laurus, *or cursed Bay-tree, the cause of all our brawling and contention.* That which he saw in matter of Doctrine he would not discern in Discipline, whereas this among us, the transforming of things, at best indifferent, into necessary points of practice, hath been of as ill consequence. And (to reform a little my seriousness) I shall not let this pass without taking notice that you Mr. *Boyes*, being the most extravagant person in this matter that ever I heard of, as I have shown, you are mad, and so the *Insana Laurus*; so I wish you may not prove *that cursed Bay-tree too*, as the Bishop translates it. If you had thought of this, perhaps we might have missed both the Bishops Book and your Preface; for you see that sometimes no man hath a worse friend than he brings from home.

It is true, and very piously done, that our Church does declare that the kneel-

kneeling at the Lords Supper is not injoyned for adoration of those Elements, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before. But the *Romanists* (from whom we have them, and who said of old, we would come to feed on their Meat, as well as eat of their Porridge) do offer us here many a fair declaration, and destinction in very weighty matters, to which nevertheless the Conscience of our Church hath not complyed. But in this particular matter of kneeling, which came in first with the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, the *Romish Church* do reproach us with flat Idolatry, in that we not believing the real presence in the Bread and Wine, do yet pay to something or other the same adoration. Suppose the Antient *Pagans* had declared to the Primitive Christians, that the offering of some grains of Incense was only to perfume the room, or that the delivering up of their Bibles, was but for preserving the Book more carefully. Do you think the Christians would have palliated so far, and colluded

ded with their Conſciences? Men are too prone to erre on that hand. In the laſt King's time, ſome eminent Perſons of our *Clergy* made an open defection to the Church of *Rome*. One, and he yet certainly a Proteſtant, and that hath deſerved well of that cauſe, writ the Book of *Seven Sacraments*. One in the Church at preſent, though certainly no leſs a Proteſtant, could not abſtain from arguing the *Holineſs of Lent:* Doctor *Thorndike* lately dead, left for his Epitaph, *Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike Prebendarij hujus Eccleſiæ qui vivus veram Reformatæ Eccleſiæ rationem & modum precibus ſtudiiſq; proſequibatur*, and nevertheleſs he adds, *Tu Lector requiem ei & beatam in Chriſto reſurrectionem precare*. Which things I do thus ſparingly ſet down, onely to ſhew the danger of inventive Piety; and if men once come to add new devices to the Scripture, how eaſily they ſlide on into Superſtition. Therefore, although the Church do conſider her ſelf ſo much as not to alter her Mode unto the fancy of others, yet I cannot

not ſee why ſhe ought to exclude thoſe from Communion, whoſe weaker conſciences cannot for fear of ſcandal ſtep further. For the Non-conformiſts, as to thoſe Declarations of our Church againſt the Reverence to the Creatures of Bread and Wine, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before, will be ready to think they have as good a Plea as that ſo much commended by our Author againſt the clauſe, *that whoſoever ſhould affirm the Wedneſday Faſt to be impoſed with an intention to bind the Conſcience*, ſhould be puniſhed *like the ſpreaders of falſe News*; which is, ſaith *a Learned Prelate plainly to them that underſtand it, to evacuate the whole Law. For all humane Power being derived from God, and bound upon our Conſciences by his power, not by Man, he that ſaith it ſhall not bind the Conſcience, ſaith it ſhall be no Law, it ſhall have no Authority from God, and then it hath none at all; and if it be not tyed upon the Conſcience, then to break it is no ſin, and then to keep it is no Duty. So that a Law without ſuch an intention is a contradicti-*

on. It is a Law onely which binds if we please, and we may obey when we have a mind to it, and to so much we are tyed before the Constitution. But then if by such a Declaration it was meant, that to keep such Fasting-days was no part of a direct Commandment from God, that is, God hath not required them by himself immediately, & so it was alstracting from that Law no Duty Evangelical, it had been below the wisdom of the Contrivers of it, for no man pretends it, no man saith it, no man thinks it, and they might as well have declared that that Law was none of the ten Commandments, p. 59. of his first Book. So much pains does that learned Prelate of his take (whoever he was) to prove a whole Parliament of *England* Coxcombs. Now I say that those Ecclesiastical Laws, with such Declarations concerning the Ceremonies by them injoyned, might *mutatis mutandis*, be taxed upon the same *Topick*. But I love not that task, and shall rather leave it to Mr. *Bayes* to paraphrase his learned Prelate. For he is very good at correcting the impertinence of Laws and

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Lawgivers: and though this work indeed be not for his turn at present, yet it may be for the future. And I have heard a good Engineer say, That he never fortified any place so, but that he reserv'd a feeble point, whereby he knew how to take it, if there were occasion.

I know a medicine for Mr. *Bayes* his Hiccough (it is but naming *J. O.*) but I cannot tell certainly, though I have a shrew'd guess what is the cause of it. For indeed all his Arguments here are so abrupt and short, that I cannot liken them better, considering too that frequent and perpetual repetition. Such as this, *Why may not the Soveraign Power bestow this Priviledge upon Ceremony, as well as Use and Custom, by vertue of its Prerogative? What greater Immortality is there in them when determined by the Command and Institution of the Prince, than when by the consent and institution of the people?* This is the Tap-lash of what he said, p. 110. *When the Civil Magistrate takes upon him to determine any particular Forms of outward Wor-*

ſhip, it is of no worſe Conſequence than if he ſhould go about to define the ſignification of all the words uſed in the worſhip of God.

And page 108. of his firſt Book: *Shewing that all the Magiſtrates power of inſtituting ſignificant Ceremonies, &c. can be no more Uſurpation upon the* CONSCIENCES *of Men, than if the Soveraign Authority ſhould take upon it ſelf, as ſome Princes have done, to define the ſignification of words.*

And afterwards, *the ſame geſture, and actions are indifferently capable of ſignifying either Honour or Contumely: And ſo words; and therefore it is neceſſary that their ſignification ſhould be determined, &c.*

This is all very well worth reading. Page 441. of his ſecond Book.

It is no other Uſurpation upon their Subjects Conſciences than if he ſhould take upon him to refine their Language, and determine the proper ſignification of all Phraſes imployed in Divine Worſhip, as well as in all Trades, Arts, and Sciences.

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Page 1461. of the ſame; *Once we will ſo far gratifie the tenderneſs of their Conſciences and curioſity of their Fancies, as to promiſe never to aſcribe any other ſignificancy to things than what himſelf is here content to beſtow upon words.*

And 462 of the ſame. *So that you ſee, my Compariſon between the ſignification of Words and Ceremonies ſtands firm as the Pillars of the Earth, and the Foundations of our Faith.*

Mr. *Bayes* might, I ſee, have ſpared Sir *Salomon*'s Sword of the Divine Inſtitution of the Sacraments. Here is the terribleſt Weapon in all his Armory; and therefore I perceive, reſerved by our Duelliſt for the laſt Onſet.

And, I who am a great Well-wiſher to the Pillars of the Earth, or the eight Elephants, leſt we ſhould have an Earthquake; and much more a Servant to the King's Prerogative, leſt we ſhould fall into confuſion; and perfectly devoted to the Foundations of our Faith, leſt we run out into Popery or Paganiſm; have no heart to this incounter, leſt if I ſhould

prove that the Magistrates absolute unlimited and uncontrolable Power doth not extend to define the signification of all words, I should thereby not onely be the occasion of all those mischiefs mentioned, but, which is of far more dismal Importance, the loss of two or three so significant Ceremonies. But though I therefore will not dispute against the Flower of the Princes Crown, yet I hope that without doing much harm, I may observe that for the most part they left it to the People, and seldom themselves exercised it. And even *Augustus Cæsar*, though he was so great an Emperour, and so valiant a man in his own person, who used to fly from a new word though it were single, as studiously as a Mariner would avoid a Rock for fear of splitting. The difference of one Syllable in the same word hath made as considerable a Controversy as most have been in the Church, betwixt the *Homoeusians* and the *Homoiousians*. One letter in the name of Beans in *Languedoc*, one party calling them *Faves*, and the other *Haves*;

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as the transposition onely of a letter a, another time in the name of a Goat, by some call'd *Crabe*, and by others *Crabre*, was the loss of more men's lives than the distinguishing but by an Aspiration in *Shiboleth* upon the like occasion. So that if a man would be learnedly impertinent, he might enlarge here to show that 'tis as dangerous to take a man by the tongue, as a Bear by the tooth. And had I a mind to play the Politician, like Mr. *Bayes*, upon so pleasant and copious a Subject, I would demonstrate that though the imposition of Ceremonies hath bred much mischief in the world, yet (shall I not venture too on a word once for tryal) such a Penetration or Transubstantiation of Language would throw all into Rebellion and Anarchy, would shake the Crowns of all Princes, and reduce the World into a second *Babel*. Therefore Mr. *Bayes* I doubt you were not well advised to make so close an Anology betwixt imposing of significant words and significant Ceremonies: for I fear the Argument may be improved against

you, and that Princes finding that of words so impracticable, and of ill consequence, will conclude that of Ceremonies to be no less pernicious. And the Nonconformists (who are great Traders, you know, in Scripture, will be certainly on your back. For they will appropriate your pregnant Text of *Let all things be done decently and in order*, to preaching or praying in an unknown Tongue, which such an imposition of words would be: and then, to keep you to your Similitude, they will say too, that yours are all Latine Ceremonies, and the Congregation does not understand them. But were not this Dominion of words so dangerous, (for how many millions of men did it cost your *Roman* Empire to attain it!) Yet it was very unmannerly in you to assign to Princes, who have enough beside, so mean a trouble. When you gave them leave to exercise Priesthood in person, that was something to the purpose; That was both Honorable, and something

thing belongs to it that would have help'd to bear the charge. But this Mint of words will never quit cost, nor pay for the coynage. This is such a drudgery; that, rather than undergo it, I dare say, there is no Prince but would resign to you so pedantical a Soveraignty. I cannot but think how full that Princes head must be of Proclamations. For, if he publish'd but once a Proclamation to that purpose, he must forthwith set out another to stamp and declare the signification of all the words contained in it, and then another to appoint the meaning of all the words in this, and so on: that here is work cut out in one Paper of State for the whole Privy Council, both Secretaries of State, and all the Clerks of the Council, for one Kings Reign, and *in infinitum*. But, I cannot but wonder, knowing how ambitious Mr. *Bayes* is of the power over words, and jealous of his own Prerogative of refining Language, how he came to be so liberal of it to the Prince: Why, the same thing that induced him to give the Prince a power

power antecedent and independent to *Christ*, and to establish what Religion he pleased, &c. Nothing but his spight against the Non-conformists. I know not that thing in the world, except a Jest, that he would not part with to be satisfied in that particular. He hoped doubtless by holding up this Maxim, to obtain that the words of the Declaration of the 15th *March* should be understood by contraries. You may well think he expected no less an equivalent; he would never else have permitted the Prince even to define the signification of all words used in the Worship of God, and to determine the proper signification of all Phrases imployd in Divine Worship. Nay Mr. *Bayer*, if it be come to that, and you will surrender your Liturgy to the Prince, I know not what you mean; for 'tis bound up with your Bible. Was it ever heard that that Book so sacred, and in which there could not one errour be found by all the *Presbyterians* at the *Worster-House*-Conference, should, upon so uncertain a prospect be-

be now abandon'd so far, as that every word and Phrase in it may receive a new and contrary signification! But the King for ought I see likes it well enough as it is (and therefore I do so too.) Yet in case his Majesty should ever think fit to reform it, and because such kind of work is usually refer'd back to some of the Clergy; I would gladly put in a *Caveat*, that our Author may in no case be one of them. For 'tis known that Mr. *Bajes* is subject to a distemper; and who knows but when he is in a fit, as he made such mad alterations of the fruit of the Spirit in the Epistle for the day, he may as well insert in some other part of the *Service*, *welfare poor Macedo for a modest Fool*; and then, *Oh how I hug thee, Dear Heart, for this!* and pretend that the Supreme Magistrate should stamp upon it a signification sacred and serious. I would not have spoken so severely of him, but that his *more laboured periods*, as he calls them, are so often fill'd with much bolder and more unwholesome translations. But however that he may not

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at his better intervals be wholly unemploy'd in the work of Uniformity, should recommend to him rather to turn the *Liturgy* and the *Rationale* into the Universal Language, and so in time the whole World might come to be of his Parish.

When he was drawn thus low, did not he think you stand need of tilting? He had done much more service to the Cause, had he laid by all those cheating Argumentations, and dealt candidly, like the good Arch Deacon not long since dead; who went about both Court and Countrey, preaching upon the *Cloke left at Troas, and the Books, but especially the Parchments.* The honest Man had found out there the whole Liturgy, the Canonical Habits, and all the Equipage of a Conformist. This was something to the matter in hand, to produce Apostolical Example and Authority: And much more to the purpose than that beaten Text of *doing all things decently and in order.*

One Argument I confess remains still behind, and that will justifie any thing.

thing. 'Tis that which I call'd lately *Rationem ultimam Cleri*; Force, Law, Execution, or what you will have it. I would not be mistaken, as though thereby meant the body of the *English* Clergy, who have been ever since the Reformation (I say it without disparagement to the Foraign Churches) of the most Eminent for Divinity and Piety in all Christendom. And as far am I from censuring, under this Title, the Bishops of *England*, for whose Function, their Learning, their Persons I have too deep a veneration to speak anything of them irreverently. But those that I intend onely, are a particular bran of persons, who will in spight of Fate be accounted the Church of *England*, and to shew they are Pluralists, never write in a modester Stile than *We*, *We*; nay, even these, several of them, are men of parts sufficient to deserve a Rank among the Teachers and Governors of the Church. Onely what Bishop *Bramhall* saith of *Grotius*, his defect in School Divinity;

Unum

Unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi deesse.

I may apply to their excess and rigour in matter of Discipline. They want all consideration, all moderation in those things; and I never heard of any of them at any time, who, if they got into Power or Office, did ever make the least experiment or overture towards the peace of the Church and Nation they lived in. They are the *Politick would-be's* of the Clergy. Not Bishops, but men that have a mind to be Bishops, and that will do any thing in the World to compass it. And, though Princes have always a particular mark upon these Men, and value them no more than they deserve, yet I know not very well, or perhaps I do know, how it oftentimes happens that they come to be advanced. They are Men of a fiery nature that must always be uppermost, and so they may increase their own Splendor, care not though they set all on flame about them. You would think the same day that they took

took up Divinity they deveſted themſelves of humanity, & ſo they may procure & execute a Law againſt the Nonconformiſts, that they had forgot the Goſpel. They cannot endure that Humility, that Meekneſs, that Strictneſs of Manners and Converſation, which is the true way of gaining Reputation and Authority to the Clergy; much leſs can they content themſelves with the ordinary and comfortable proviſion that is made for the Miniſtry: But, having wholly calculated themſelves for preferment, and Grandeur, know or practice no other means to make themſelves venerable but by Ceremony and Severity. Whereas the higheſt advantage of promotion is the opportunity of condeſcention, and the greateſt dignity in our Church can but raiſe them to the Title of *Your Grace*, which is in the Latine *Veſtra Clementia*. But of all theſe, none are ſo eager & virulent, as ſome, who having had relation to the late times, have got acceſs to *Eccleſiaſtical Fortunes*, and are reſolved to make their beſt of her. For ſo,

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of all Beasts, none are so fierce and cruel as those that have been taught once by hunger to prey upon their own kind; as of all Men, none are so inhumane as the *Canibals*. But whether this be the true way of ingratiating themselves with a generous and discerning Prince, I meddle not; nor whether it be an ingenious practice towards those whom they have been formerly acquainted with: but whatsoever they think themselves obliged to for the approving of their new Loyalty; I rather commend. That which astonishes me, and onely raises my indignation is, that of all sorts of Men, this kind of Clergy should always be, and have been for the most precipitate, brutish, and sanguinary Counsels. The former Civil War cannot make them wise, nor his Majesties Happy Return, good natured; but they are still for running things up unto the same extreams. The softness of the Universities where they have been bred, the gentleness of Christianity in which they have been nurtured, hath but

but exasperated their nature; and they seem to have contracted no *Idea* of wisdom, but what they learnt at School, the Pedantry of Whipping. They take themselves qualified to Preach the Gospel, and no less to intermeddle in affairs of State: Though the reach of their Divinity is but to persecution, and an Inquisition is the height of their Policy.

And you Mr. *Bayes*, had you lived in the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar* (be not scandalized, for why may you not bring sixteen hundred years, as well as five hours into one of your Playes?) would not you have made, think you, an excellent Privy Counsellour? His Father too was murdered. Or (to come nearer both to our times, and your resemblance of the late War, which you trumpet alwaies in the Ear of his Majesty) had you hapen'd in the time of *Henry* the *fourth* of *France*, should not you have done well in the Cabinet? His Predecessor too was assassinated. No, Mr. *Bayes*, you would not have been for their purpose: They took o-

ther measures of Government, and accordingly it succeeded with them. And His Majesty, whose Genius hath much of both those Princes, and who derives half of the Blood in his Veins from the latter, will in all probability not be so forward to hearken to your advice as to follow their Example. For these Kings, Mr. *Bayes*, how negligent soever or ignorant you take 'em to be, have I doubt, a shrewd understanding with them. 'Tis a Trade, that God be thanked, neither you nor I are of, and therefore we are not so competent Judges of their Actions. I my self have often times seen them, some of them do strange things, and unreasonable in my opinion, and yet a little while, or sometimes many years after, I have found that all the men in the world could not have contrived any thing better. 'Tis not with them as (with you. You have but one Cure of Souls, or perhaps two, as being a Noblemans Chaplain, to look after: And if you make Conscience of discharging them as you ought, you

would find you had work sufficient, without writing your *Ecclesiastical Politics*. But they are the Incumbents of whole Kingdoms, and the Rectorship of the Common people, the Nobility, and even of the Clergy, whom you are prone to *affirm when possest with Principles that incline to Rebellion and disloyal practises, to be of all Rebels the most dangerous*, p. 49. the Care I say of all these rests upon them. So that they are fain to condescend to many things for peace-sake, and the quiet of Mankind, that your proud heart would break before it would bend to. They do not think fit to require any thing that is impossible, unnecessary, or wanton, of their people; but are fain to consider the very temper of the Climate in which they live, the Constitution and Laws under which they have been formerly bred, and upon all occasions to give them good words, and humour them like Children. They reflect upon the Histories of former times, and the present Transactions to regulate themselves by in every cir-

cumstance. They observe how the Parliament of *Poland* will be their King's Taylor, and among other Reasons, because he would not wear their Mode, have suffered the *Turk* to enter, as coming nearer their Fashion. Nay, that even *Alexander* the *Great* had almost lost all he had conquered by forcing his Subjects to conform to the *Persian* habit. That the King of *Spain*, when upon a Progress he enters *Biscay*, is pleased to ride with one Leg naked, and above all to take care that there be not any Bishop in his Retinue. So their people will pay their Taxes in good Gold and Silver; they demand no Subsidy of so many bushel of Fleas, lest they should receive the same answer with the Tyrant; that the Subject could not furnish that quantity; and besides they would be leaping out still before they could be measured; and should they finde the people for non-payment, they reckon there would be little got by distraining. They have been told that a certain Queen being

desired to give a Town-Seal to one of her Cities, lighting from Horse, sate down naked on the Snow, and left them that Impression; and though it caused no disturbance, but all the Town-Leases are Letters-Pattents; Kings do not approve the Example. That the late Queeen of *Sweden* did her self no good with saying, *Io non voglio governar le Bestie*, but afterwards resigned. That the occasion of the revolt of *Switzerland* from the Emperour, and its turning Commonwealth, was onely the imposing of a Civil Ceremony by a Capricious Governour, who set up a Pole in the high-way with a Cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all Passengers be uncover'd, and to do obeysance. One sturdy *Swiss*, that would not conform, thereupon overturn'd the Government, as 'tis at large in History. That the King of *Spain* lost *Flanders* chiefly upon introducing the Inquisition. And you now Mr. *Bayes* will think these and an hundred more that I could tell you, but

idle stories, and yet Kings can tell how to make use of 'em. And hence 'tis that in stead of assuming your unhoopable jurisdiction, they are so satisfied with the abundance of their power, that they rather think meet to abate of its exercise by their discretion. The greater their fortune is, they are content to use the less extravagancy.

But because I see, Mr. *Bayes*, you are a little deaf on this ear, I will talk somewhat closer to you. In this very matter of Ceremonies, which you are so bent upon, that your mind is alwayes running on't when you should be hearkning to the Sermon; do not you think that the King knows every word you said, although he never gave your Book the reading? That you say, that the Clause 5° *Eliz.* of the *Wednesday*-Fast has been the Original of all the Puritan-Disorders. That the Controversy is now reduced onely to two or three Symbolical Ceremonies. That these Ceremonies are things indifferent in their own nature,

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and have no antecedent necessity, but only bind as they are commanded. That they signify nothing in themselves but what the Commander pleases. That the Church it self declares that there is nothing of Religion or adoration in them. That they are no parts of Religious Worship. That they are only Circumstances. That the imposing of a significant Ceremony, is no more than to impose significancy upon a word. That there is not a word of any of these Ceremonies in the Scriptures. That they are in themselves of no great moment and consequence, but 'tis absolutely necessary that Government should injoyn them, to avoid the evil that would follow if they were not determined: and that there cannot be a Pin pull'd out of the Church, but the State immediately totters. Do not you think that the King has considered all these things? I believe he has, and perhaps, as you have minced the matter, he may well think the Nonconformists have very nice Stomachs, that they cannot digest such chopp'd hay:

But on the other ſide, he muſt needs take you to be very ſtrange men, to cram theſe in ſpite down the throats of any Chriſtian. If a man have an Antipathy againſt any thing, the Company is generally ſo civil, as to refrain the uſe of it, however not to preſs it upon the perſon. If a man be ſick or weak the Pope grants a Diſpenſation from *Lent*, or Faſting daies: ay, and from many a thing that ſtrikes deeper in his Religion. If one have got a cold, their betters will force them to be covered. There is no end of Similitudes: but I am led into them by your calling theſe Ceremonies, Pins of the Church. It would almoſt tempt a Prince that is curious, and that is ſetled (God be praiſed) pretty faſt in his Throne, to try for experiment, whether the pulling out of one of theſe Pins would make the State totter. But, Mr. *Bayes*, there is more in it. 'Tis matter of Conſcience: and if Kings do, out of Diſcretion, connive at the other infirmities of their People; If great perſons do out of civility condeſcend to their inferiors; and if all men

men out of common humanity do yield to the weaker; Will your Clergy only be the men, who, in an affair of Conscience, and where perhaps 'tis you are in the wrong, be the only hard hearted and inflexible Tyrants; and not only so, but instigate and provoke Princes to be the ministers of your cruelty?

But, I say, Princes, so far as I can take the height of things so far above me, must needs have other thoughts, and are past such boyes-play to stake their Crowns against your Pins. They do not think fit to command things unnecessary, and where the Profit cannot countervail the hazard. But above all they consider, that God has instated them in the Goverment of Mankind, with that incumbrance (if it may so be called) of Reason, and that incumbrance upon Reason of Conscience. That he might have given them as large an extent of ground and other kind of cattle for their Subjects; but it had been a melancholy Empire to have been only Supreme Graziers and Soveraign Shepherds. And therefore, though the lazineſs

zineſs of that brutal magiſtracy might have been more ſecure, yet the difficulty of this does make it more honourable. That men therefore are to be dealt with reaſonably: and conſcientious men by Conſcience. That even Law is force, and the execution of that Law a greater Violence; and therefore with rational creatures not to be uſed but upon the utmoſt extremity. That the Body is in the power of the mind; ſo that corporal puniſhments do never reach the offender, but the innocent ſuffers for the guilty. That the Mind is in the hand of God, and cannot correct thoſe perſwaſions which upon the beſt of its natural capacity it hath collected: So that it too, though erroneous, is ſo far innocent. That the Prince therefore, by how much God hath indued him with a clearer reaſon, and by conſequence with a more enlightned judgment ought the rather to take heed leſt by puniſhing Conſcience, he violate not only his own, but the Divine Majeſty.

But as to that Mr. *Bayes*, which you

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ſtill inculcate of the late War, and its horrid Cataſtrophe, which you will needs have to be upon a religious account: 'Tis four and twenty years ago, and after an *Act of Oblivion*; and for ought I can ſee, it had been as ſeaſonable to have ſhown *Ceſars* bloody Coat, or *Thomas a Becket's* bloody Rochet. The chief of the offenders have long ſince made ſatisfaction to Juſtice, & the whole Nation hath been ſwept ſufficiently of late years by thoſe terrible ſcourges of Heaven: So that methinks you might in all this while have ſatiated your miſchievous appetite. Watſoever you ſuffered in thoſe times, his Majeſty who had much the greater loſs, knowing that the memory of his Glorious Father will alwayes be preſerved, is the beſt Judge how long the Revenge ought to be purſued. But if indeed out of your ſuperlative care of his Majeſty and your *Living*, you are afraid of ſome new diſturbance of the ſame nature, let me ſo far ſatisfy you as I am ſatisfied. The Nonconformiſts ſay that they are bound in

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Conſcience to act as far as they can, and for the reſt to ſuffer to the utmoſt. But becauſe though they do mean honeſtly, 'tis ſo hard a Chapter for one that thinks himſelf in the right to ſuffer extremities patiently, that ſome think it impoſſible; I ſay next, that its very ſeldom ſeen that in the ſame age, a Civil War, after ſuch an interval, has been raiſed again upon the ſame pretences: But Men are all ſo weary, that he would be knock'd on the head that ſhould raiſe the firſt diſturbance of the ſame nature. A new War muſt have, like a Book that would ſell, a new Title. I am aſham'd Mr. *Bayes* that you put me on talking thus impertinently (for Policy in us is ſo) Therefore to be ſhort, the King hath ſo indulged and obliged the Non-conformiſts by his late mercy, that if there were any ſuch Knave, there can be no ſuch Fool among them, that would ever lift up an ill thought againſt him. And for you Mr. *Bayes* he is aſſured of your Loyalty, ſo that I think you may enjoy your *Living* very peaceably,

which

which I know is all your busines. 'Twas well replyed of the *English* man in *Edward* the *fourths* time, to the *French* man that ask'd him insulting, When they should see us there again? *When your Sins are greater than ours.* There are as many occasions of War, as there are Vices in a Nation; and therefore it concerns a Prince to be watchful on all hands. But should Kings remember an injury as long as you implacable Divines do, or should we take up Arms upon your Pecks, because your Ecclesiastical Policy is answered to revenge your quarrel, the World would never be at quiet. Therefore Mr. *Bayes* let all those things of former times alone, and mind your own business; for Kings, believe me, as they have Royall understandings, so have Gentlemens memories.

And now Mr. *Bayes* I think it is time to take my leave, having troubled you with so long a visit. Only before I quit this matter, because I do not love to be accounted singular in my opinion, I will add the judgment of one

Author,

Author, and that as pertinent as I could pick out to our purpose. I have observed that not only other Princes, but Queen *Elizabeth* too hath the misfortune to be much out of your favour. But for what reason I cannot possibly imagine; for none ever deserved better as to the thing of Uniformity, unless it be the ill luck she had to pass that *impertinent Clause* in the Act 5° *Eliz.* of the *Jejunium Cecilianum*. You cannot, for her sake, indure the Wit or Learning of her times, but say, p. 94. of your second Book, *Though this trifling Artifice of sprinkling little fragments of Wit and Poetry might have passed for Wit and Learning in the daies of Queen* Elizabeth, *yet to men of Learning, Reading and Ingenuity, their vulgar use has sullied their lustre and abated their value.* This is indeed, Mr. *Bayes*, a very laboured period, and prepared by you, I believe, on purpose as a model of the Wit and Eloquence of your daies. But not only so; but p. 483. of the same Book, I think you call her in derision, and most spightfully and unmannerly, plain

Old

Old Elſbeth. And thoſe that knew her humour, think you could not have diſobliged her more than in ſtiling her ſo; both as a Woman, which Sex never love to be thought old, and as a Queen, who was jealous leſt Man ſhould therefore talk of the ſucceſſion. Beſides the irreverent nick-name you give her, that you might as well have preſumed to call her *Queen Beſs*, or *Bold Bettie*. Now to the end that that Queen of famous Memory may have a little female revenge upon you, and to give you a taſte of the Wit and Learning even of her times; I will *ſprinkle* here one *fragment*, which not being a *Scholar-like ſaying of antient Poet or Philoſopher*, but of a Reverend Divine, I hope, Mr. *Bayes*, may be leſs diſpleaſing to you. The Man is *Barker*. Not *Robert Parker*, who writ another Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Policy, and the Book *de Cruce*, for which if they had catch'd him, he had poſſibly gone to the Gallows, or at leaſt the Gallyes. For he was one of thoſe well-meaning Zealots, that are of all Villains the

most dangerous. But it is the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Parker*, (For if I named him before without addition, 'twas what I learnt of you, speaking of *Whitgift*) He in his Book *de Antiquitatibus Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, p. 47. speaking of the slaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, and so many Christians more, upon the instigation of *Austin* the Monk, who stirred up *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* against them, because they would not receive the Romish Ceremonies; useth these words, *Et sane illa prima de Romanis Ritibus inducendis per Augustinum tunc excitata contentio, quæ non nisi clade & sanguine innocentium Britannorum poterat extingui; ad nostra recentiora tempora, tum similis perniciei cadæque Christianorum pervenit. Cum enim illis gloriosis cæremoniis à puræ Primitivæ Ecclesiæ simplicitate recesserunt, non de vitæ sanctitate, de Evangelii prædicatione, de spiritûs sancti vitæ consolatione unicum laborabant, sed novas indies alterationes de novis ritibus per Papas singulos additis; qui neminem tam excelso gradu dignum quâ*

aliqui,

aliquid, ceremoniosi non dicam, monstrosi inauditi & inusitati non adjecisset; instituebant. Suggestaque & scholas fabulis rixisque suis implebant. Nam prima Ecclesiæ species simplicior & integro & interno Dei cultu, ab ipso Verbo *præscripto, nec vestibus splendidis, nec magnificis structuris decorata, nec auro, argento, gemmisque fulgens fuit: Etsi liceat his exterioribus uti modo animum ab illo interiori & integro Dei cultu non abducant; Curiosis & morosis ritibus ab illa primæva & recta simplicitate Evangelica degeneravit. Illa autem in Romana Ecclesia rituum multitudo ad immensum illius magni Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi temporibus creverat; ut questus sit Christianorum in Ceremoniis & ritibus duriorem tunc fuisse conditionem quam Judæorum, qui etiamsi tempus Libertatis non agnoverint, Legalibus tamen sarcinis non humanis præsumptionibus subjiciebantur; nam paucioribus in divino cultu quam Christiani Ceremoniis utebantur. Qui si sensisset quantus deinde per singulos Papas coacervatus cumulus accessit, modum Christianum credo ipse statuisset; qui hoc malum*

tunc in Ecclesia viderat. Videmus enim ab illa ceremoniarum contentione nedum Ecclesiam esse vacuam; quin homines aliogui docti atque pii de vestibus & hujusmodi nugis adhuc, risoso magis & militare, quam aut Philosophico aut Christiano more inter se digladiantur. These words do run so direct against the Genius of some men that contributed not a little to the late Rebellion, and though so long since writ, do so exactly describe that evil spirit with which some men are even in these times possest, who seem desirous upon the same grounds to put all things in combustion, that I think them very well worth the labour of translating. And indeed, that first contention then raised by *Augustine* about the introducing of the Romish Ceremonies, which could not be quenched but by the blood and slaughter of the innocent *Brittains*; hath been continued even to our later times, with the like mischief and murder of Christians. For when once by those glorious Ceremonies they forsook the pure simplicity of the Primitive Church, they did not much

much trouble themselves about Holiness of life, the preaching of the Gospel, the efficacy and the comfort of the Holy Spirit: but they fell every day into new squabbles about new-fangled Ceremonies added by every Pope, who reckoned no man worthy of so high a degree but such as invented somewhat, I will not say Ceremonious, but monstrous, unheard of, and before unpractised; and they fill'd the Schools and the Pulpits with their Fables and brawling of such matters. For the first beauty of the Church had more of simplicity and plainness, and was neither adorned with splendid Vestments, nor magnificent structures, nor shin'd with gold, silver and precious stones; but with the intire and inward worship of God, as it was by Christ himself prescribed. Although it may be lawful to use these external things, so they do not lead the mind astray from that more inward and entire worship of God, by those curious and crabbed Rites it degenerated from that antient and right Evangelical Simplicity. But that mul-

titude of Rites in the Romish Church had unmeasurably increased in the times of that great *Augustine* the Bishop of *Hippo*, in so much that he complained that the Condition of the Christians as to Rites and Ceremonies, was then harder than that of the Jews; who although they did not discern the time of their Liberty, yet were onely subjected to Legal burthens, instituted first by God himself, not to humane presumptions. For they used fewer Ceremonies in the Worship of God than Christians. Who, if he could have foreseen how great a heap of them was afterwards piled up, and added by the several Popes, he himself doubtless would have restrained it within Christian measure, having already percived this growing evil in the Church. For we see, that even yet the Church is not free from that contention: but men, otherwise learned and pious, do still out and slash about Vestments and such kind of trifles, rather in a Swash buckler and Hectoring way than, either like Philosophers or like Christians.)

Now

Now Mr. *Bayes*, I doubt you must be put to the trouble of writing another Preface against this Arch-bishop. For nothing in your Answerers Treatise of *Evangelical Love* does so gird or aim at you, for ought I can see, or at those whom you call the Church of *England*, as this Passage. But the last period does so plainly delineate you to the life, that what St. *Austine* did not presage, the Bishop seems to have foreseen most distinctly. 'Tis just your way of writing all along in this matter. You bring nothing sound or solid. Onely you think you have got the *Great Secret*, or the *Philosopher's Stone* of Railing, and I believe it, you have so multiplied it in *Projection*: and as they into Gold, so you turn every thing you meet with into Railing. And yet the Secret is not great, nor the *Process* long or difficult, if a man would study it, and make a Trade on't. Every Scold hath it naturally. It is but crying Whore first, and having the last word, and whatsoever other Eyes, cry, Oh these are your Nonconfor-

mists tricks; Oh you have learnt this of the Puritans in *Grubstreet*. Oh you *Whitepaper'd Gossip*. For indeed, I never saw so provident a fetch; you have taken in before hand all the Posts of railing, and so beset all the Topicks of just crimination, foreseeing where you are feeble, that if this trick would pass, it were impossible to open ones mouth to find the least fault with you. For in your first Chapter of your second Book, beside what you do always in an hundred places when you are at a loss, you have spent almost an hundred pages upon *a Character of the Fanatick deportment towards all Adversaries*. And then on the other side, you have so ingrossed and bought up all the Ammunition of Railing, search'd every corner in the Bible, and *Don Quixot* for Powder, that you thought, not unreasonably, that there was not one shot left for a Fanatick. But truth, you see, cannot want words: and she will laugh too sometimes when she speaks, and rather than all fail too, be serious. But what wil you say to that of the Arch-bishops, *than either like Philosophers*

losophers or like Christians? For the excellency of your Logick, Philosophy and Christianity in all your Books, is either, as in *Conscience*, to take away the subject of the question: or, as in the *Magistrate*, having gotten one absurdity, to raise a thousand more from it. So that, except the manufacture and labor of your periods, you have done no more than any School boy could have done on the same terms. And so, Mr. *Bayes*, Good night.

And now Good-morrow, Mr. *Bayes*; For though it seems so little a time and that you are but now gone to bed, it hath been a whole live-long night; and you have tost'd up and down in many a troublesome Dream, and are but just now awaked at the Title Page of your Book:

A Preface stopping what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery.

It is something artificially couch'd, but looks, as if it did allow, that there are some Grounds of Fears and Jealousies of that nature. But here he words it;

A Consideration what likelihood, or how much danger there is of the return of Popery into this Nation.

Had he not come to this at last, I should have thought I had been all this while reading a Chapter in *Mountagues Essayes*; where you find sometimes scarce one word in the discourse of the matter held forth in the Title. But now indeed he takes up this Argument and debates it to purpose. For I had before begun to shew that he had writ not only his two former Books, but especially too this Preface, with an evil eye and aim at his Majesty, and the Measures he had taken of Government. And whoever will take the pains to read here, will soon be of my mind. His Majesty had I said the 15th of *March* 1671. issued his Declaration of Indulgence to tender Consciences. He, on the Contrary, issues out thereupon, all in haste and as fast as he could write, this his Remonstrance or Manifesto against Indulgence to tender Consciences; and to make his Majesties proceedings more odious,

odious, stirs up this seditious matter, of what probability there is of Popery.

And this he discourses, to be sure, in his own imagination very cunningly. For he knows that there was an Act of Parliament in this Kings Reign with a greater penalty than that of 50 *Eliz.* of spreading false News, against reports of this nature. And therefore he resolvs to handle it so warily, that he himself might escape, but might draw others that should answer him, within the danger of that Act; and that he might lay the crime at their doors. But, notwithstanding all his slights and *Legerdemain* it doth enough detect his malice and ill intention to his Majesties Government, that he should take this occasion, altogether foreign and unseasonable, to raise a publick and solemn discourse through the whole Nation, concerning a matter the most odious and dangerous that could be exposed. So that now, no man can look at the wall, no man can pass by a Book-sellers stall, but he must see *A Preface shewing what GROUNDS there are for* FEARS *and* JEALOUSIES

LOUSIES of POPERY. It had been something a safer and more dutiful way of writing, A Preface shewing the CAUSELESNESS of the Fears and Jealousies of POPERY. For I do not think it will excuse a Witch to say, That she conjur'd up a Spirit onely that she might lay it: nor can there be a more dexterous and malicious way of calumny, than by making a needless Apology for another, in a criminal Subject. As, suppose I should write a Preface shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of *Bayes* his being an Atheist. But this is exactly our Authors method and way of contrivance; whereby, more effectually by far than by any flying Coffee-house tattle, he traduces the State, and by printing so pernicious a question fills all mens mouths, & beats out all mens eyes with the probability of the return of POPERY. Had he heard any that malignly and officiously talk'd to such a purpose, it had been the part of one so prudent as he is, not to have continued the Discourse. Had

he

be (as he hath a great gift that way) pick'd up out of any mans talk or writing, matter whereof to make an ill story; there was a better and a more regular way of proceeding, had he meant honestly to his Majesties Government, to have prevented the evil, and to have brought the offender to punishment. He should have gone to one of the Secretaries of State, or to some other of his Majesties Privy Council, and have given them Information. But, instead of that, I am afraid that in the survey of this business, we shall find, that even some of them are either accused, or shrowdly mark'd out with a Character of our Authors displeasure. Therefore, I will now come nearer to his matter in hand, although it concerns me to be careful of coming too near, nor shall I dwell too long upon so jealous and impertinent a subject.

To consider what likelihood or how much danger there is of the return of Popery into this Nation. The very first word is; *For my part, I know none.* Very well considered. Why then, Mr. *Bayes*, I must

must tell you, that if I had printed a Book or Preface upon that Argument, I should have thought my self, at least a Fool for my labour. The next considerer is mine Enemy; I mean he is an Enemy to the State, whoever shall foment such discourses without any likelihood or danger. Yet Mr. *Rayer*, you know, I have for a good while had no great opinion of your Integrity; neither here. I doubt you prevaricate a little with some body. For, I suppose you cannot be ignorant that some of your superiours of your Robe did upon the publishing that Declaration, give the Word, and deliver Orders through their Ecclesiastical Camp; to beat up the Pulpit drums against Popery. Nay, even so much that there was care taken too for arming the *poor Readers*, *that though they came short of Preachers in point of efficacy, yet they might be inabled* to do something *in point of* common *Security*. So that, though for so many years, some of your Superiours had forgot there was any such thing in the Nation as a Popish Recusant though

Pole-

Polemical and *Controversial Divinity* had for so long been hung up in the Halls, like the rusty obsolete Armour of our Ancestors, for monuments of Antiquity; and for derision rather than service; all on a sudden (as if the 15th of *March* had been the 5th of *November*) happy was he that could climb up first to get down one of the old Cuirasses, or an Habergeon that had been worn in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*. Great variety there was, and an heavy doo. Some clapp'd it on all rusty as it was, others fell of oyling and furbishing their Armour: Some piss'd in their Barrels, others spit in their pans, to scowr them. Here you might see one put on his Helmet the wrong way: there one buckle on a Back in place of a Breast: Some by mistake catched up a Socinian or Arminian Argument, and some a Popish to fight a Papist. Here a Dwarf lost in the accoutrements of a Giant: there a *Don Quixot* in an equipage of differing pieces, and of several Parishes. Never was there such Incongruity and Nonconformity in their fur-

furniture. One ran to borrow a Sword of *Calvin*. This man for a Musket from *Beza*: that for a Bandeleers even from *Keckerman*. But when they came to seek for Match, and Bullet, and Powder, there was none to be had. The Fanaticks had bought it all up, and made them pay for it most unconscionably, and through the Nose. And no less sport was it to see their Leaders. Few could tell how to give the word of Command, nor understood to drill a Company: They were as unexpert as their Souldiers aukward: and the whole was as pleasant a spectacle, as the exercising of the Train'd-bands in —— *Shire*. But Mr. *Bayes* (for I believe you do nothing but upon common advice, either this was all intended but for a false alarum, and was onely for a pretence to take arms against the Fanaticks (which you might have done without raising all this din and obloquy against the State, and disquieting his Majesties good Subjects: or else you did really think (and who can help misapprehensions?) that you did know some likelihood or danger

ger of the return of Popery. I crave you mercy, Mr. *Boyes*, I took you a little short. *For my part I know none*, you say *but the Nonconformists boysterous and unreasonable opposition to the Church of England.*

This I confess hath some weight in it. For truly before *I knew none* too, I was of your Opinion Mr. *Boyes*, and believed that Popery could never return into *England* again, but by some very sinister accident. This expression of mine is something uncouth, and therefore because I love to give you satisfaction in all things, Mr. *Boyes*, I will acquaint you with my reason of using it. *Henry the fourth of France*, his Majesties Grandfather, lived (you know) in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*. Now the wit of *France* and *England*, as you may have observed, is much of the same mode, and hath at all times gone much after the same current Rate and Standard; onely there hath been some little difference in the alloy, and advantage or disadvantage in the exchange according to mens occasions. Now *Henry the fourth*, was (you know too)

too) a Prince like Bishop *Brumhall, of a brave and enterprizing temper, and had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its utmost extent*; *and* particularly (*as far as the prejudice of the age* (*Old Elsibeths* Age) *would permit him*) he was very witty and facetious, and the Courtiers strove to humor him always in it, and increase the mirth. So one night after Supper he gave them a Subject (which recreation did well enough in those times, but were now insipid) upon which like Boyes at *Westminster*, they should make a *French* Verse extempore. The Subject was, *Un Accident finistre*, Straight answers, I know not whether 'twas *Bassompierre* or *Aubigne*.

Un finistre Accident & un Accident finistre;
De voir un Pere Cavalier chevaucher un Ministre.

For when I said, to see Popery return here would be a very finistre accident; I was just thinking upon that story of the

the Verses, to humour them in translation, being only this,

O what a trick unlucky, and how unlucky a trick,
To see friend Doctor Patrick, bestrid by Father Patrick!

Which seem'd to me would be the most improbable and preposterous spectacle that ever was seen; And yet if Popery come in, this must be and worse.

But now I see there is some danger by the Nonconformists opposition to the Church of *England*. And now your business is all fixed. The Fanaticks are ready at hand to bear the blame of all things. Many a good job have I seen done in my time upon pretence of the Fanaticks. I do not think Mr. *Bayes* ever brake his shins, but it is by stumbling upon a Fanatick. And how shall they bring in Popery? why thus, three wayes. *First*, By *creating disorders and disturbances in*

the State. Secondly, By the assistance of Atheism and Irreligion. Thirdly, By joyning with crafty and Sacrilegious Statesmen in confederacy. Now here I remark two things. One, that however you do not find that the Fanaticks are inclinable to Popery, only they may accommodate it by creating disturbances in the State. Another is, that I see these Gentlemen, the Fanaticks, the Atheists, and the Sacrilegious Statesmen are not yet acquainted; but you have appointed them a meeting (I believe it must be at your Lodgings or no where) and I hope you will treat them handsomly. But I think it was not so wisely done, nor very honestly, Mr. *Bayes*, to lay so dangerous a Plot as this, and instruct men that are strangers yet to one another, how to contrive together such a Conspiracy. But first to your first.

The Fanaticks you say may probably raise disturbance to the State. For they are so little friends to the present Government, that their enmity to that is one of the main grounds of their quarrel to the Church.

But

But now, though I must confess it is very much to your purpose, if you could perswade men so, I think you are clear out, and misrepresent here the whole matter. For I know of no enmity they have to the Church in self, but what it was in her power always to have remedied, and so it is still. But such as you it is that have always strove by your leasing to keep up a strangeness and misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people; and all the mischief hath come on't does much lye at your door. Whereas they, as all the rest of Mankind, are men for their own ends too: And no sooner hath the King shown them his late favour, but you Mr. *Bayes*, and your Partners reproach them for being too much friends to the Prerogative. And no less would they be to the Church, had they ever at any age in any time found her in a treatable temper. I know nothing they demand, but what is so far from doing you any harm, that it would only make you better. But that indeed is the harm, that is the thing you are

afraid of. Here our Author divides the discourse into a great Elogy of the Church of *England*; that if he were making her Funeral Sermon, he could not say more in her commendation; and a contrary invective against the Nonconformists, upon whom (as if all he had said before had been nothing) he unloads his whole Leystall, and dresseth them up all in *Sambenitos*, painted with all the flames & Devils in hell, to be led to the place of Execution & there burnt to ashes. Nevertheless, I find on either side only the natural effect of such Hyperboles and Oratory, that is, not to be believed. The Church of *England* (I mean as it is by Law established, lest you should think I equivocate) hath such a stock of solid and deserved reputation, that it is more than you (Mr. *Bayes*) can spoil or deface by all the Pedantry of your commendation. Only there is that partie of the Clergy, that I not long ago described, and who will alwaies presume to be the only Church of *England*, who have been a perpetual Eye-sore, that I may

not

not say a Canker and Gangreen in so perfect a beauty. And, as it joyeth my heart to hear any thing well said of her, so, I must confess, it stirs my choler, when I hear those men pride and bast themselves under the Mask of her Authority. Neither did I therefore approve of an expression you hereafter: *The Power of Princes would be a very precarious thing without the assistance of Ecclesiasticks, and all Government do's and must owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage.* That is as much as to say, That but for the assistance of your *Ecclesiastical Policy*, Princes might go a begging: and that the Church, that is you, have the *Jus Patronatus* of the Kingdom, and may present whom you think fitting to the Crown of *England*. This is indeed something like the return of Popery; and right

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rudolpho,

The Crown were surely well help'd up, if it were to be held at your conveni-

ence, and the Emperour must lead the Patriarchs Ass all his life time. And little better do I like your *We may rest satisfied in the present Security of the Church of* England, *under the Protection of a wise and gracious Prince: especially when besides the impregnable Confidence that we have from his own Inclination, it is so manifest, that he never can forsake it either in Honour or Interest.* This is a pretty way of coaxing indeed, while you are all this while cutting the grass under his feet, and animating the people against the exercise of his Ecclesiastical Supremacy. Men are not so plain-hearted, but they can see through this oblique Rhetorication and Sophistry. If there be no danger in his time of taking a *Pin out of the Church* (for that it is you intend) why do you then speak of it in his time, but that you mean mischief? thus here you do not only mow the grass under his feet, but you take the pillow from under his head. *But should it ever happen that any King of* England *should be prevailed with to deliver up the Church*, he had no

good

good at the same time resign up his Crown. This is pretty plain dealing, and you have doubtless secur'd hereby that Princes Favour; I should have thought it better Courtship in a Divine, to have said, O King, Live for ever. But I see Mr. *Bayes*, that you and your Partners are very necessary men, and it were dangerous disobliging you. But as in this imprudent and nauseous discourse, you have all along appropriated or impropriated all the Loyalty from the Nobility, the Gentry and the Commonalty, and dedicated it to the Church; So, I doubt, you are a little too immoderate against the body of the Nonconformists. You represent them, to a man, to be all of them of Republican Principles, most pestilent, and *eo nomine*, enemies to Monarchy; Traytors and Rebels; such miscreants as never was in the world before, and fit to be pack'd out of it with the first Convenience. And, I observe, that all the Argument of your Book is but very frivolous and trivial: onely the memory of the late War serves for de-

monstration, and the detestable sentence and execution of his late Majesty, is represented again upon the Scaffold, and you having been, I suspect, better acquainted with Parliament Declarations formerly upon another account; do now apply and turn them all over to prove that the late War was wholly upon a Fanatical Cause, and the dissenting party do still go big with the same Monster. I grew hereupon much displeased with my own Ignorance of the occasion of those Troubles so near our own times, and betook my self to get the best Information concerning them, to the end that I might, if it appeared so, decline the dangerous acquaintance of the Nonconformists, some of whom I had taken for honest men, nor therefore avoided their Company. But I took care nevertheless, not to receive Impressions from any of their party, but to gather my lights from the most impartial Authorities that I could meet with. And I think I am now partly prepared to give you, Mr. *Bayes*, some better satisfaction in this mat-

matter. And because you are a dangerous person, I shall as little as possible say any thing of my own, but speak too before good Witnesses. First of all therefore, I will without farther Ceremony, fall upon you with the but end of another Arch-bishop. 'Tis the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury Abbot*, in the Narrative under his own hand concerning his disgrace at Court in the time of his late Majesty. I shall only in the way demand excuse, if contrary to my fashion, the names of some eminent persons in our Church long since dead, be reviv'd here under no very good character, and most particularly that of Arch-bishop *Laud*, who, if for nothing else, yet for his learned Book against *Fisher*, deserved far another Fate than he met with, and ought not now to be mentioned without due honour. But those names having so many years since escaped the Press, it is not in my power to conceal them, and I believe Arch-bishop *Abbot* did not write but upon good Consideration,

This

This I have premised for mine own Satisfaction, and I will add one thing more, Mr. *Boyes*, for yours. That whereas the things now to be alledged relate much to some Impositions of Money in the late Kings time, that were carried on by the Clergy; I know you will presently be ready to carp at that, as if the Nonconformists had, and would be alwayes enemies to the Kings supply. Whereas, Mr. *Boyes*, if I can do the Nonconformists no good, I am resolv'd I will do them no harm, nor desire that they should lye under any imputation on my account. For I write by my own advice, and what I shall alledge concerning the Clergies intermedling with supplies, is upon a particular aversion, that I have upon good reason, against their disposing of our Money. And Mr. *Boyes*, I will acquaint you with the Reason, which is this. 'Tis not very many years ago that I used to play at *Picket*, and there was a Gentleman of your robe a *Dignitary of Lincoln*, very well known and remembred in the Ordinaries, but being

being not long since dead, I will save his name. Now I used to play *Picket*, and this Gentleman would alwayes go half a Crown with me; and so all the while he sat on my hand he very honestly gave the *Sign*, so that I was alwayes sure to lose. I afterwards discovered it, but of all the money that ever I was cheated of in my life, none ever vexed me so, as what I lost by his occasion. And ever since, I have born a great grudge against their fingring of any thing that belongs to me. And I have been told, and shown the place where the man dwelt in the late King's time near *Hampton Court*, that there was one that used to rob on the highway, in the habit of a Bishop, and all his fellows rid too in Canonical Coats. And I can but fancy how it madded those, that would have perhaps been content to relieve an honest Gentleman in distress, or however would have been less grieved to be rob'd by such an one, to see themselves so *Episcopally* pillag'd. Neither must it be less displeasing alwaies to the Gentry and Commonalty

of

of *England*, that the Clergy) as you do Mr. *Bayes*) should tell them that they are never *sui Juris*, not only as to their Consciences, but even as to their Purses; and you should pretend to have this *power of the Keyes* too, where they lock their Money. Nay, I dare almost aver upon my best observation, that there never was, nor ever will be a Parliament in *England*, that could or can refuse the King supplies proportionable to his occasions, without any need of recourse to extraordinary ways, but for the pickthankness of some of the Clergy, who will alwayes presume to have the thanks and honour of it, nay, and are ready alwayes to obstruct the Parliamentary Aids, unless they may have their own little project pass too into the bargain, and they may be gratified with some new *Ecclesiastical Power*, or some new Law against the *Fanatick*. This is the naked truth of the matter. Whereas *English* men alwayes love to see how their money goes, and if there be any Interest or Profit to be got by it, to receive it themselves. Therefore Mr.

Bayes

Boys; I will go on with my business, not fearing all the mischief that you can make of it.

'There was, *saith he*, one *Sibthorp*, who not being so much as Batchelor of Arts, by the means of Doctor *Pierce* Vice-Chancelor of *Oxford*, got to be confer'd upon him the title of Doctor. This Man was Vicar of *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*, and hath another Benefice. This Man preaching at *Northampton*, had taught, that Princes had power to put Poll-money upon their Subjects heads. He being a Man of a low fortune, conceiv'd the putting his Sermon in Print might gain favour at Court, and raise his fortune higher. It was at the same time that the business of the Loan was on foot. In the same Sermon he called that Loan a Tribute, Taught that the Kings dutie is first to direct and make Laws. That nothing may excuse the Subject from active obedience, but what is against the Law of God or Nature, or impossible; that all Antiquity was absolutely for absolute o-

be-

'obedience in all civil and temporal
'things. And the imposing of poll-
mony by Princes, he justifi'd *one of* St.
Matthew: And in the matter of the
Loan, *What a Speech is this*, saith
the Bishop, *he observes the formal deceit*
of the Papists to offer double. For this
Sermon was sent to the Bishop from
Court, and he required to Licence it,
not under his Chaplain, but his own
hand. But he, not being satisfi'd of
the Doctrine delivered, sent back his
reasons why he thought not fit to give
his Approbation, whereupon Bishop
Laud, who understood the whole busi-
ness, went to answer them in Writ-
ing. ——— 'His life in *Oxford*,
'saith Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, was to pick
'quarrels in the Lectures of publick
'Readers, and to advertise them to the
'Bishop of *Durham* that he might fill the
'Ears of King *James* with discontent
'against the honest men that took pains
'in their places, and setled the Truth
'(which he called Puritanism) in their
'Auditors. He made it his work to
'see what Books were in the Press,

'and

and to look over Epistles Dedicatory, and Prefaces to the Reader, to see what faults might be found. 'Twas an observation what a sweet man this was like to be, that the first observable Act he did, was the marrying of the Earl of *D.* to the Lady *R.* when she had another Husband a Nobleman, and divers Children by him. Here he tells how, for this very cause, King *James* would not a great while endure him, till he yielded at last to Bishop *Williams* his importunity, whom notwithstanding he straight strove to undermine, and did at last to purpose: for, saith the Arch-bishop, Verily, such is his undermining nature, that he will undermine any Man in the World, so he may gain by it. *He call'd in the Bishops of* Durham, Rochester, *and* Oxford, tryed men for such a purpose, to the answering of my Reasons, and the whole stile of the Speech, runs We, We. In my memory, Doctor *Harsnet* then Bishop of *Chichester*, and now of *Norwich* (*as he came afterwards to be Arch-Bishop of* York)

York) preach'd at White-hall upon *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*; a Sermon that was afterwards burned, teaching that Goods and Money were Cæsars, and so the Kings: Whereupon King *James* told the Lords and Commons that he had failed in not adding According to the Laws and Customs of the Country wherein they did live. But *Sibthorp* was for absolutely absolute. So that if the King had sent to me for all my Money and Goods, and so to the Clergy, I must by *Sibthorp's* proportion send him all. If the King should send to the City of *London* to command all their Wealth, they were bound to do it. I know the King is so gracious he will attempt no such matter; but if he do it not the defect is not in these flattering Divines. Then he saith, (reflecting again upon the Loan which *Sibthorp* called a Tribute) I am sorry at heart, the Kings Gracious Majesty should rest so great a Building on so weak a Foundation, the Treatise being so slender, and

without

'without substance, but that proceeded 'from an hungry Man. Then he speaks of his own case as to the licensing this Book, in parallel to the Earl of *Essex* his Divorce, which to give it more authority, *was to be ratified judicially by the Arch-bishop.* He concludes how finally he refused his approbation to this Sermon, and saith, 'It was 'thereupon carried to the Bishop of '*London*, who gave a great and stately 'allowance of it, the good Man not be-'ing willing that any thing should stick 'with him that came from Court, as 'appears by a Book commonly called 'the seven Sacraments; which was al-'lowed by his Lordship with all the 'errours, which have been since ex-'punged. And he adds a pretty story of one Doctor *Worral*, the *Bishop of* London's *Chaplain, Scholar good enough, but a free fellow-like man, and of no very tender Conscience*, who before it was Licensed by the Bishop, *Sibthorp's* Sermon being brought to him, *hand over head approved it, and subscribed his name.* But afterwards hearing more of it, went

up a Counsel at the *Temple*, who told him, that by that Book *there was no Meum nor Tuum left in* England; *and if ever the Tide turn'd, he might come to be hang'd for it*: and thereupon *Wood* scraped out his name again, and left it to his Lord to License. Then the Arch-Bishop takes notice of the *instructions for that Loan*. 'Those that 'refused, to be sent for Souldiers to the 'King of *Denmark*. Oaths to be ad-'ministred with whom they had confe-'rence; and who diswaded them, such 'persons to be sent to prison, &c. He 'saith that he had complained thrice of '*Mountagues* Arminian Book to no 'purpose: *Cosins* put out his Book of 'seven Sacraments (strange things) 'but I knew nothing of it, but as it 'pleased my Lord of *Durham* and the 'Bishop of *Bath*, *so it went*. In conclusi-on the good Arch-Bishop for refu-sing this License of *Sibthorps* Sermons, was, by the underworking of his adver-saries, first commanded from *Lambeth*, and confined to his house in *Kent*, and afterwards

afterwards sequestred, and a Commission passed to exercise the Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, and Bishop *Laud* (who from thence arose in time to be the Arch-Bishop.) If I had leisure, how easy a thing it were for to extract out of this Narrative a just parallel of our Author, even almost upon all points: but I am now upon a more serious subject, and therefore shall leave the Application to his own ingenuity, and the good intelligence of the Reader.

About the same time (for I am speaking within the circle 2°, 3°, and 4° *Caroli*) that this Book of *Sibthorp*, called *Apostolical Obedience*, was printed, there came out another of the same stamp, intitled *Religion and Allegiance*, by one Doctor *Manwaring*. It was the substance of two Sermons preached by him at *Whitehall*, beside what of the same nature at his own parish of Saint *Giles*. Therein he delivered for truth, 'That the King is not bound to observe 'the Laws of the Realm concerning

'the Subjects rights and liberties, but
'that his Royal Word and Command
'in imposing Loans and Taxes without
'common consent in Parliament, does
'oblige the Subjects Conscience upon
'pain of eternal Damnation. That
'those who refused to pay this Loan,
'offended against the Law of God, and
'the Kings supream Authority, and be-
'came guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty,
'and Rebellion. That the Authority
'of Parliament was not necessary for
'the raising of Aids and Subsidies, and
'the slow proceedings of such great As-
'semblies were not fitted for the sup-
'ply of the States urgent necessities,
'but would rather produce sundry im-
'pediments to the just designs of Prin-
'ces. And after he had been questi-
oned for this doctrine, nevertheless he
preached again, 'That the King had
'right to order all as to him should
'seem good, without any mans consent.
'That the King might, in time of ne-
'cessity, demand Aid, and if the Sub-
'ject did not supply him, the King
'might justly avenge it. That the

'Pro-

'Propriety of Estate and Goods was ordinarily in the Subject, but extraordinarily in the King: that in case of the King's need, he hath right to dispose them. He has besides entring into comparison, called the refusers of the Loan, Temporal Recusants, and said, the same disobedience that they (the Papists as they then called them) practise in Spirituals, that or worse, some of our side, if ours they be, dare to practise in Temporals. And he aggravated further upon them under the resemblance of *Turks*, *Jews*, *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*. 'Which last, said he, might as well liken themselves to the three Children in *Thunder* and *Fire*, the two Incendiaries in the case of *Cæsar*'s tribute, might as well pretend their Cause to be like that of the *Maccabees*, as what the Refusers alledged in their own defence.

I should not have been so large in these particulars, had they been only single and volatile Sermons, but because this was then the Doctrine of those persons that pretended to be the

Church of *England*. The whole Quire sung that Tune, and in steal of the Common Law of *England*, and the Statutes of Parliament, that part of the Clergy had invented these *Ecclesiastical Laws*, which according to their predominancy, were sure to be put in execution. So that between their own Revenue, which must be held *Jure Divino*, as every thing else that belong'd to them; and the Prince's, that was *Jure Regio*, they had not left an inch of propriety for the Subject. It seem'd that they had granted themselves *Letters of Reprisal* against the Laity, for the losses of the Church under *Henry the Eighth*, and that they would make a greater havock upon their Temporalities in retaliation. And indeed, having many times since pondred with my greatest and earnest impartiality, what could be the true reason of the spleen that they manifested in those dates, on the one hand against the *Puritans*, and on the other against the *Gentry*, (for it was come they tell me, to *Jack Gentleman*) I could not devise any

cause

cause, but that the Puritans had ever since the Reformation, obstructed that laziness and splendor which they injoyed under the Popes Supremacy, and the Gentry had (sacrilegiously) divided the *Abby-Lands*, and other fat morsels of the Church at the Dissolution, and now was the time to be revenged on them.

While therefore the Kingdom was turned into a Prison, upon occasion of this *Ecclesiastical Loan*, and many of the eminentest of the Gentry of *England* were under restraint, they thought it seasonable to recover once again their antient Glory, and to *Magnificate* the Church with triumphal Pomp and Ceremony. The three Ceremonies that have the Countenance of Law, would not suffice, but they were all upon new Invention, and happy was he that was endued with that capacity, for he was sure before all others to be preferr'd. There was a *Second* Service, the *Table* set *Altar-wise*, and to be called the *Altar*; *Candles*, *Crucifixes*, *Paintings*, *Images*, *Copes*, *bowing to the East*, *bowing*

to the Altar, and so many several Cringes & Genuflections, that a man unpractised stood in need to entertain both a Dancing-Master and a Remembrancer. And though these things were very uncouth to *English* Protestants, who naturally affect a plainness of fashion, especially in sacred things; yet, if those Gentlemen could have contented themselves with their own Formalitie, the Innovation had been more excusable. But many of these Additions, and to be sure, all that had any colour of Law, were so imposed and prest upon others, that a great part of the Nation was e'n put as it were to fine and ransom upon this account. What Censures, what Excommunications, what Deprivations, what Imprisonments? I cannot represent the misery and desolation, as it hath been represented to me. But wearied out at home, many thousands of his Majesties Subjects, to his and the Nations great loss, thought themselves constrained to seek another habitation; and every Country, even though it were among Savages and Caniballs, ap-

pear'd more hospitable to them than their own.

And, although I have been told by those that have seen both, that our Church did even *then* exceed the *Romish* in Ceremonies and Decorations; and, indeed, several of our Church did thereby frequently mistake their way, and from a *Popish* kind of Worship, fell into the *Roman Religion*; yet I cannot upon my best judgment believe, that that party had generally a design to alter the Religion so far, but rather to set up a new kind of *Papacy* of their own here in *England*. And it seemed they had to that purpose, provided themselves of a new Religion in *Holland*. It was *Arminianism*, which though it were the *Republican* Opinion there, and so odious to King *James*, that it helped on the death of *Barnevelt*, yet now they undertook to accomodate it to Monarchy and Episcopacy. And the choice seemed not imprudent. For on the one hand, it was removed at so moderate a distance from *Popery*, that they should not disoblige the *Papists* more than for-

formerly, neither yet could the *Puritans* with justice reproach these men as *Romish Catholicks*: and yet, on the other hand, they knew it was so contrary to the antient reformed Doctrine of the Church of *England*, that the *Puritans* would never imbrace it, and so they should gain this pretence further to keep up that convenient and necessary Quarrel against Non-conformity. And accordingly it happened, so that here again was a new *Shiboleth*. And the *Calvinists* were all studiously discountenanced, and none but an *Arminian* was judg'd capable and qualified for imployment in the Church. And though the King did declare, as I have before mentioned, that *Montague's Arminian* Book had been the occasion of the Schisms in the Church, yet care was immediately taken, by those of the same robe and party, that he should be the more rewarded and advanced. As also it was in *Manwarings* Case: who though by Censure in Parliament made incapable of any Ecclesiastical preferment, was straight made Rector of

Stam-

Stamford-Rivers in *Essex*, with a Dispensation to hold too his Living in St. *Giles's*. And all dexterity was practised to propagate the same Opinions, and to suppress all Writings or Discourses to the contrary.

So that those who were of understanding in those dayes, tell me, that a man would wonder to have heard their kind of preaching. How instead of the practical Doctrine which tends to the reforming of Mens Lives and Manners, all their Sermons were a very Mash of *Arminian* Subtilties, of Ceremonies, and Decency, and of *Manwaring* and *Sibthorpianism* brew'd together; besides that in their conversation they thought fit to take some more license the better to *dis-Ghibeline* themselves from the *Puritans*. And though there needed nothing more to make them unacceptable to the sober part of the Nation, yet moreover they were so exceeding *pragmatical*, so intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarce any Gentleman might come near the Tayle of their

Mules,

Moles. And many things I perceive of that nature do even yet ſtick upon the ſtomachs of the *Old Gentlemen* of thoſe times. For the *Engliſh* have been always very tender of their Religion, their Liberty, their Propriety, and (I was going to ſay) no leſs of their Reputation. Neither yet do I ſpeak of theſe things with paſſion, conſidering at more diſtance how natural it is for men to deſire to be in Office, and no leſs natural to grow proud and intractible in Office; and the leſs a Clergy-man is ſo, the more he deſerves to be commended. But theſe things before mentioned, grew yet higher, after that Biſhop *Laud* was once not only exalted to the See of *Canterbury*, but to be chief Miniſter. Happy had it been for the King, happy for the Nation, and happy for himſelf, had he never climbed that Pinacle. For whether it be or no, that the Clergy are not ſo well fitted by Education, as others for Political Affairs, I know not; though I ſhould rather think they have advantage a-

bove

bove others, and even if they would but keep to their *Bibles*, might make the best Ministers of State in the world; yet it is generally observed that things miscarry under their Government. If there be any Counsel more precipitate, more violent, more rigorous, more extreme than other, that is theirs. Truly I think the reason that God does not bless them in Affairs of State, is, because he never intended them for that imployment. Or if Government, and the preaching of the Gospel, may well concur in the same person, God therefore frustrates him, because though knowing better, he seeks and manages his greatness by the lesser and meaner *Maxims*. I am confident the Bishop studied to do both God and his Majesty good service, but alas how utterly was he mistaken. Though so learned, so pious, so wise a Man, he seem'd to know nothing beyond *Ceremonies*, *Arminianism*, and *Manwaring*. With that he begun, and with that ended, and thereby deform'd the whole reign of the best

Prince

Prince that ever wielded the *Englisſh* Scepter.

For his late Majeſty being a Prince truly Pious and Religious, was thereby the more inclined to eſteem and favour the Clergy. And thence, though himſelf of a moſt exquiſite underſtanding, yet thought he could not truſt it better than in their keeping. Whereas every man is beſt in his own Poſt, and the Preacher in the Pulpit. But he that will do the Clergies drudgery, muſt look for his reward in another World. For they having gained this Aſcendent upon him, reſolv'd whatever became on't to make their beſt of him; and having made the whole buſineſs of State their *Arminian* Jangles, and the Perſecution for Ceremonies, did for recompence aſſign him that imaginary abſolute Government, upon which Rock we all ruined.

For now was come the laſt part of the *Archbiſhops* indiſcretion; who having ſtrained thoſe ſtrings ſo high here, and all at the ſame time, which no wiſe man ever did; he moreover had

a mind to try the same dangerous Experiment in *Scotland*, and sent thither the Book of the *English Liturgy* to be imposed upon them. What followed thereupon, is yet within the compass of most Mens memories. And how the War broke out, and then to be sure Hell's broke loose. Whether it were a War of Religion, or of Liberty, is not worth the labour to enquire. Which-soever was at the top, the other was at the bottom: but upon considering all, I think the Cause was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have trusted God; they ought and might have trusted the King with that whole matter. The *Arms of the Church are Prayers and Tears*; the Arms of the Subjects are Patience and Petitions. The King himself being of so accurate and piercing a judgment, would soon have felt where it stuck. For men may spare their pains where Nature is at work, and the world will not go the faster for our driving. Even as his present Majesty's happy Restauration did it self; so all

things else happen in their best and proper time, without any need of our officiousness.

But after all the fatal consequences of that Rebellion, which can only serve as Sea-marks unto wise Princes to avoid the Causes, shall this sort of Men still vindicate themselves as the most zealous Assertors of the Rights of Princes? They are but at the best *well-meaning Zealots*. Shall, to decline so pernicious Counsels, and to provide better for the quiet of Government, be traduced as the Author does here, under these odious terms of *forsaking the Church, and delivering up the Church*? Shall these Men always presume to usurp to themselves that venerable stile of the *Church of England*? God forbid. The *Independants* at that rate would not have so many distinct Congregations as they. There would be *Sibthorp*-Church, and *Manwaring*-Church, and *Mountague*-Church, and a whole Bed-roll more, whom for decencies-sake I abstain from naming. And every Man that could invent a

new

new Opinion, or a new Ceremony, or a new Tax, should be a new Church of *England*.

Neither, as far as I can discern, have this sort of the Clergy since his Majesties return, given him better incouragement to steer by their Compass. I am told, that preparatory to that, they had frequent meetings in the City, I know not whether in *Grub-street*, with the Divines of the other party, and that there in their Feasts of Love, they promised to forget all former Offences, to lay by all Animosities, that there should be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, all Meekness, Charity, and Condescention. His Majesty I am sure sent over his Gracious Declaration of *Liberty to tender Consciences*, and upon his coming over, seconded it with his Commission under the broad Seal, for a Conference betwixt the two parties, to prepare things for an Accommodation, that he might confirm it by his Royal Authority. Hereupon what do they? Notwithstanding this happy Conjuncture of his

Majesties Restauration, which had put all Men into so good a humour, that upon a little moderation and temper of things, the Nonconformists could not have stuck out; some of these Men so contriv'd it, that there should not be the least abatement to bring them off with Conscience, and (which insinuates into all men) some little Reputation. But on the contrary; several unnecessary additions were made, they knew which would be more ingrateful and *stigmatical* to the Nonconformists, I remember one in the *Litany*, where to *False Doctrine and Heresie*, they added *Schism*, though it were to spoil the *Musick* and cadence of the period; but these things were the best. To show that they were Men like others, even cunning Men, revengeful Men, they drill'd things on, till they might procure a Law, wherein besides all the Conformity that had been of former-times enacted, there might be some new Conditions imposed on those that should have, or hold any Church-Livings, such as they assur'd themselves, that

that rather than ſwallow, the Nonconformiſts would diſgorge all their Benefices. And accordingly it ſucceeded, ſeveral thouſands of thoſe Miniſters being upon one memorable day outed of their ſubſiſtence. His Maieſty in the meantime, although they had thus far prevailed to fruſtrate his Royal Intentions, had re-inſtated the Church in all its former Revenues, Dignities, and Advantages, ſo far from the Authors miſchievous aſperſion of ever thinking of converting them to his own uſe, that he reſtored them free from what was due to him by Law upon their firſt admiſſion. So carefull was he, *becauſe all Government muſt owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage*, to pay them, even what they ought. But I have obſerved, that if a Man be in the Churches debt once, 'tis very hard to get an acquittance: And theſe men never think they have their full Rights, unleſs they Reign. What would they have had more? They rowl'd on a flood of wealth, and yet in matter of a Leaſe, would make no difference be-

twixt a Nonconformist, and one of their own fellow sufferers, who had ventur'd his life, and spent his Estate for the King's service. They were restor'd to Parliament, and to take their places with the King and the Nobility. They had a new *Liturgy* to their own hearts desire; And to cumulate all this happiness, they had this new Law against the *Fanaticks*. All they had that could be devised in the World to make a Clergy-man good natur'd.

Nevertheless after all their former sufferings, and after all these now enjoyments and acquisitions, they have proceeded still in the same track. The matter of Ceremonies, to be sure, hath not only exercised their ancient rigour & severity, but hath been a main ingredient of their publick Discourses, of their Sermons, of their Writings. I could not (though I do not make it my work after a great example, to look over *Epistles Dedicatory*) but observe by chance the Title page of a Book 'tother day, as an *Emblem* how much some of them do neglect the Scripture in respect

ſpect to their darling Ceremonis. A *Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of England by* A. Sparrow, *D. D. Biſhop of* Exon. *With the Form of Conſecration of a Church or Chappel, and of the place of Chriſtian Burial. By* Lancelot Andrews *late Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter. Sold by Robert Pawlet at the Sign of the Bible in Chancery Lane.* Theſe ſurely are worthy cares for the Fathers of the Church.

But to let theſe things alone; How have they of later years demean'd themſelves to his Majeſty, although our Author urges their immediate dependance on the King to be a great obligation he hath upon their Loyalty and Fidelity? I have heard that ſome of them, when a great Miniſter of State grew burdenſome to his Majeſty and the Nation, ſtood almoſt in defiance of his Majeſties good pleaſure, and fought it out to the uttermoſt in his defence. I have been told that ſome of them in a matter of *Divorce*, wherein his Majeſty deſired that Juſtice might be done to the party griev'd,

opposed him vigorously, though they made bold too with a point of Conscience in the case, and went against the Judgment of the best Divines of all parties. It hath been observed, that whensoever his Majesty hath had the most urgent occasions for supply, others of them have made it their business to trinkle with the *Members of Parliament*, for obstructing it, unless the King would buy it with a new Law against the Fanaticks. And this is that which of late years hath caused such a *Superfetation of Acts* about the same business. And no sooner can his Majesty upon his own best Reasons try to obviate this Inconvenience, but our Author, who had before out-shot *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring* in their own Bows, is now for retrenching his Authority, and moreover calumniates the State with a likelyhood, and the reasons thereof of *the return of Popery* into this Nation. And this hath been his first Method by the *Fanaticks raising disturbance*: whereupon, if I have

have raked farther into things than I would have done, the Author's Indiscretion will, I hope, excuse me, and gather all the blame for reviving those things which were to be buried in oblivion. But, by what appears, I cannot see that there is any probability of disturbance in the State, but by men of his spirit and principles.

The Second way whereby the Fanatick party, he saith, may at last work the ruin of the Church, is *by combining with the Atheists; for their Union is like the mixture of Nitre and Charcoal, it carries all before it without mercy or resistance.* So it seems, when you have made Gun-powder of the Atheists and Fanaticks, we are like to be blown up with Popery. And so will the Larks too. But his zeal spends it self most against the *Atheists*, because they use to *fear the Parson*. That they may do, and no Atheists neither. For really, while Clergy men will, having so serious an office, play the *Droll* and the Boon-companions, and make merry

with the Scriptures, not onely among themselves, but in Gentlemen's company, 'tis impossible but that they should meet with, at least, an unlucky Repartee sometimes, and grow by degrees to be a tayle, and contempt to the people. Nay, even that which our Athour always magnifies, the Reputation, the Interest, the secular grandure of the Church, is indeed the very thing which renders them ridiculous to many, and looks as improper and buffoonish, as to have seen the Porter lately in the good *Doctors Cassock* and Girdle. For, so they tell me, that there are no where more Atheists than at *Rome*, because men seeing that Princely garb and Pomp of the Clergy, and observing their life and manners, think therefore the meaner of Religion. For certainly, the Reputation and Interest of the Clergy, was first gained by abstracting themselves from the world, attending their Callings, Humility, strictness of Doctrine, and the same strictness in Conversation; and things are best preserved by the same means they were at first

first attained. But if our Author had been as concern'd against Atheisme, as he is against their dis respect of his function, he should have been content that the Fanatick Preachers might have spent some of their *Pulpit-sweat* upon the Atheists, and made a noise in their ears, about *Faith, Communion with God, attendance upon Ordinances*, which he himself jears at so pleasantly. Neither do I like upon the same reasons his manner of Discourse with the Atheists, where he complains that ours are not like those good Atheists of former times, who never did thrust themselves into publick cares and concerns, 'minding nothing but Love, Wine, and 'Poetry. Nor in another place, 'Put 'the case the Clergy were Cheats and 'Juglers, yet it must be allowed they 'are necessary Instruments of State to 'aw the Common People into fear and 'obedience, because nothing else can 'so effectually inslave them (this it seems our Author would be at) 'as 'the fear of invisible powers, and the 'dismall apprehensions of the world to

'come;

'come; and for this very reason, 'though there were no other, it is fit 'they should be allowed the same ho- 'nour and respect, as would be ac- 'knowledged their due, if they were 'sincere and honest men. No Atheist could have said better. How mendicant a cause has he here made of it; they will say, They see where the shoo wrings him, and that though this be some ingenuity in him, yet it is but little Policy. Nay, perhaps they will say, That they are no Atheists neither, but only, I know not by what Fate, every day one or other of the Clergy does, or saith, some so ridiculous and foolish thing, or some so pitty accident befals them, that in our Authors words a *man must be very splenetick that can refrain from laughter*. I would have quoted the page here, but that the Author has, I think for evasion sake, omitted to number them in his whole Preface. But whether there be any Atheists or no, which I question more than Witches, I do not for all this take our Author to be one, though some would conclude it

it out of his Principles, others out of his Expreſſions. Yet really, I think he hath done that ſort of men ſo much ſervice in his Books by his ill handling, and while he perſonates one party, making all Religion ridiculous, that they will never be able to requite him but in the ſame manner. He hath opened them a whole Treaſury of words and ſentences univerſally applicable, where they may riſle or chuſe things, which their pitiful wit, as he calls it, would never have been able to invent and flouriſh. But truly, as the ſimple *Parliament* 5° *Eliz.* never imagined what conſequence that clauſe in the *Wedneſday Faſt* would have to *Puritaiſm*: neither did he what his *Periods* would have to Atheiſm; and yet though he is ſo more excuſable, I hope I may have the ſame leave on him, as he on that *Parliament*, to cenſure his Impertinence. To cloſe this; I know a Lady that chid her Maſter of the Horſe for correcting the *Page* that had ſworn a great Oath. For, ſaith ſhe, *The Boy did therein ſhow only the Generoſity of his Courage*

rage, and his acknowledgment of a Deity. And indeed, he hath approv'd his Religion, and justified himself from Atheism much after the same manner.

The third way and last (which I being tired, am very glad of), by which the Fanaticks may raise Disturbances, and so *introduce Popery*, is by joyning crafty and sacrilegious States-men into the Confederacy. But really here he doth speak concerning King, and Counsellors, at such a rate, and describe and characterize some men so, whomsoever he intends, that though I know there are no such, I dare not touch, it is too hazardous. 'Tis true he passes his Complement ill-favouredly enough. 'The Church has at present an im-'pregnable affiance in the wisdom, &c. 'of so gracious a Prince, that is not 'capable of such Counsels, should they 'be suggested to him: though certain-'ly no man that is worthy to be admit-'ted to his Majesties Favour or Privacy, 'can be supposed so fool-hardy or pre-'sumptuous as to offer such weak and 'dishonourable Advice to so wise and 'able

'able a Prince; Yet Princes are mor-
'tal, and if ever hereafter, (and some
'time or other it must happen) the
'Crown should chance to settle upon
'a young and unexperienced head, this
'is usually the first thing in which
'such Princes are abused by their Kee-
'pers and Guardians, &c.' But this Complement is no better at best, than if discoursing with a man of another, I should take him by the Beard. Upon such occasions in company, we use to ask, Sir, *Whom do you mean?* I am sure our Author takes it alwayes for granted, that his Answerer intends him upon more indefinite and less direct provocations. But our Author does even personate some men as speaking at present against the Church, 'They will
'intangle your affairs, indanger your
'safety, hazard your Crown. All the
'reward you shall have to compensate
'your misfortunes, by following
'Church Counsels, shall be that a few
'Church-men, or such like people, shall
'cry you up for a Saint or a Martyr.
Still *your*, *your*, as if it were a close

dis-

discourse unto His Majesty himself. Though if this were the worst that they said, or that the Author fathers upon them, I wish the King might never have better Counsellors about him. But if the Author be secure for the present, in his Majesties Reign, fears not Popery, not forsaking the Church, not assuming the Church Revenues, why is he so provident? why put things in men's heads they never thought of? why stir such an odious, seditious, impertinent, unseasonable discourse? why take this very minute of time, but that he hath mischief, to say no worse, in his heart? He had no such remote conceit (for all his talk) of an *Infant* coming to the Crown. He is not so weak but knows too much, and is too well instructed, to speak to so little purpose. That would have been like a set of *Elsbeth Players*, that in the Country having worn out and over-acted all the Playes they brought with them from *London*, laid their wits together to make a new one of their own. No less man than *Julius Cæsar* was the Argument

ment, and one of the chief parts was *Moses* perswading *Julius Cæsar* not to make War against his own Countrey, nor pass *Rubicon*. If our Author did not speak of our present times (to do which nevertheless had been sufficiently false and absurd) but writ all this meerly out of his Providence to after-ages, I shall no more call him *Bayes*, for he is just such a *second Moses*. I ask pardon, if I have said too much, but I shall deserve none, if I meddle any further with so improbable and dangerous a business.

To conclude, the Author gives us one ground more, and perhaps more *seditiously* insinuated than any of the former, that is, If *it should so prove*, that is, if the *Fanaticks by their wanton and unreasonable opposition to the ingenious and moderate Discipline of the Church of* England, *shall give their Governors too much reason to suspect that they are never to be kept in order by a milder, and more gentler Government than that of the Church of* Rome, *and force them at least to scourge them into better man-*

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ners, with the Briars and Thorns of their Diſcipline. It ſeems then that the Diſcipline contended about, is worth ſuch an alteration. It ſeems that he knows ſomething more than I did believe of the Deſign in the late times before the War. Whom doth he mean by *our Governours?* the King; No, for he is a ſingle perſon. The Parliament, or the Biſhops.

I have now done, after I have (which is I think due) given the Reader, and the Authour, a ſhort account how I came to write this Book, and in this manner. Firſt of all, I was offended at the preſumption and arrogance of his ſtile; whereas there is nothing either of Wit, or Eloquence in all his Books, worthy of a Readers, and more unfit for his own, taking notice of. Then his infinite *Tautology* was burdenſome, which ſeem'd like marching a Company round a Hill upon a pay-day ſo often, till if the Muſter-maſter were not attentive, they might receive the pay of a Regiment. All the variety of his Treat is *Park* (he knows

knows the ſtory) but ſo little diſguiſed by good Cookery, that it diſcoovers the miſerableneſs, orrather the penury of the Hoſt. When I obſerved how he inveighs againſt the *Trading-part* of the Nation, I thought he deſerved to be within the *five mile Act*, and not to come within that diſtance of any Corporation. I could not patiently ſee how irreverently he treated Kings and Princes, as if they had been no better then *King Phyz*, and *King Uſh* of *Brandford*. I thought his profanation of the Scripture intolerable; For though he alledges that 'tis only in order to ſhew how it was miſapplyed by the Fanaticks, he might have done that too, and yet preſerved the Dignity and Reverence of thoſe Sacred Writings, which he hath not done; but on the contrary, he hath in what is properly his own, taken the moſt of all his Ornaments, and Imbelliſhments thence in a ſcurrilous and ſacrilegious ſtile; inſomuch that were it honeſt, I will undertake out of him to make a better, that is a more rediculous and

profaner Book, than *all the Friendly Debates* bound up together. Methought I never saw a more bold and wicked attempt, than that of reducing *Grace*, and making it a meer *Fable*, of which he gives us *the Moral*. I was sorry to see that even Prayer could not be admitted to be a Virtue, having thought hitherto it had been a *Grace*, and a peculiar gift of the Spirit; But I considered that that Prayer ought to be discouraged, in order to prefer the *Liturgy*. He seem'd to speak so little like a Divine in all those matters, that the *Poet* might as well have pretended to be the *Bishop Davenant*, and that description of the Poets of *Prayer* and *Praise* was better than our Authors on the same Subject. *Canto* the 6th, where he likens Prayer to the Ocean;

For Prayer the Ocean is where diversly
Men steer their course each to a several
coast.
Where all our interests so discordant lye,
That half beg winds, by which the rest are
lost.

And

And Praiſe he compares to the Union of Fanaticks and Atheiſts, &c. that is *Gunpowder is Praiſe is Devotion fit for mighty minds*, &c.

Its utmoſt force, like Powder is unknown,
And though weak Kings exceſs of praiſe may fear,
Yet when 'tis here, like Powder, dangerous grown,
Heavens vault receives, what would the Palace tear.

Indeed all *Aſtragen* appear'd to me the better *Scheme of Religion*. But it is unneceſſary here to recapitulate all, one by one, what I have in the former Diſcourſe taken notice of. I ſhall only add, what gave, if not the greateſt, yet the *laſt* impulſe to my writing. I had obſerved in his firſt Book, p. 57. that he had ſaid 'Some pert 'and pragmatical Divines, had filled 'the world with a Buzze and noiſe of 'the Divine Spirit; which ſeemed to to me ſo horribly irreverent, as if he had taken ſimilitude from the *Hum and Buz*

of the *Humble-Bee* in the *Rehearſal*.

In the ſame Book, I have before mentioned, that moſt unſafe paſſage our *Saviour, being not only in an hot fit of zeal, but in a ſeeming fury and tranſport of Paſſion.* And ſtriving to unhook himſelf hence, p. 152. of his Second Book, he ſwallows it deeper, ſaying, *Our bleſſed Saviour did in that action take upon him the Perſon and Priviledge of a Jewiſh Zelot.* Take upon him the Perſon, that is *Perſonam induere.* And what part did he play? Of a *Jewiſh Zelot.*

The Second Perſon of the Trinity (may I repeat theſe things without offence) to take upon him the perſon of a Jewiſh Zealot, that is, of a notorious Rogue and Cut-throat.

This ſeemed to proceed from too ſlight an Apprehenſion and knowledge of the duty we owe to our Saviour. And laſt of all, in this Preface, as before quoted, he ſaith, the *Nonconformiſt Preachers do ſpend moſt of their Pulpit-ſweat in making a noiſe about Communion with God.* So that there is not one Perſon of the Trinity that he hath not

done

done despighe to: and left he should have distinct Communion with the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, for which he mocks his Answerer, he hath spoken evil distinctly of the Father, distinctly of the Son, and distinctly of the Holy Ghost. That only remain'd behind, wherein our Author might surpass the Character given to *Aretine*, a famous man of this faculty.

Qui giace ill Aretino
Chi de tutti mal disse fuor d' Iddio
Ma di questo si scusa perche no'l conobbe.

Here lies Aretine,
Who spoke evil of all, except God only:
But of this he beggs excuse, because he did not know him.

And now I have done. And shall think my self largely recompensed for this trouble, if any one that hath been formerly of another mind, shall learn by this Example, that it is not impossible to be merry and

and angry as long time as I have been writing, without profaning and violating those things which are and ought to be most sacred.

FINIS.